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The Forum.

EDITED BY LORETTUS S. METCALF.

FEBRUARY, 1891.

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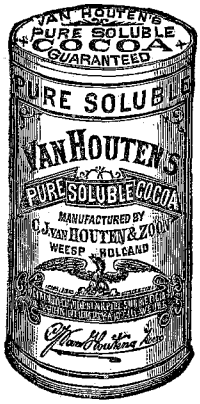

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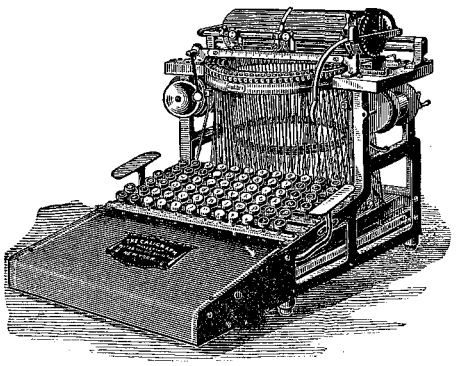

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WRITERS AND SUBJECTS.

Brief Notices of Contributors to the Forum for February and Lists of Parallel Articles.

THE VANISHING SURPLUS.

Senator John G. Carlisle.

JOHN GRIFFIN CARLISLE was born in Campbell County, Ky., September 5, 1835. After receiving a common-school education, he taught, then studied law, and was admitted to the bar in 1858. He sat in the State House of Representatives in 1859–61, and in the State Senate from 1837 till his election as lieutenant-governor in 1871. Since 1877 he has been a member of Congress, sitting in the lower house till the present year, when he was chosen to the Senate. From 1883 till the present Republican Congress he was Speaker of the House. He has written for the FORUM "The Continuance of Democratic Rule" (October, 1887); "The Republican Program" (August, 1889); "The Tariff and the Farmer" (January, 1890); and "Republican Promise and Performance" (May, 1890).

In the FORUM for October, 1887, Judge William D. Kelley discussed "The Treasury Surplus."

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

Prof. B. L. Gildersleeve.

BASIL LANNEAU GILDERSLEEVE was born in Charleston, S. C., October 23, 1831. He graduated at Princeton in 1849, studied three years in Germany, and in 1856, soon after his return, was chosen professor of Greek in the University of Virginia, where he remained till 1876, occupying also the chair of Latin in 1861–66. He has been professor of Greek at Johns Hopkins since the establishment of that university. Prof. Gildersleeve is considered one of the first American Greek scholars. He is editor of the "American Journal of Philology," and has published numerous annotated editions of Latin and Greek authors, including Persius, Justin Martyr, and Pindar.

The present article is the ninth in the series begun in June, 1890, by W. E. H. Lecky, and continued by Prof. John Tyndall, Prof. A. P. Peabody, Rev. Dr. E. E. Hale, Frederic Harrison, Rev. Dr. Edward Eggleston, Archdeacon Farrar, and President Dwight.

THE NEXT STEP IN EDUCATION.

President C. K. Adams.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS was born in Derby, Vt., January 24, 1835. He graduated at the University of Michigan in 1861, became an assistant professor there in 1863, and in 1868 was given the chair of history. In 1881 he was made a non-resident professor of history at Cornell, and in 1885 he was elected president of that university. His works include "Democracy and Monarchy in France"; "Manual of Historical Literature"; and "Representative British Orations" (3 vols.). President Adams has written for the FORUM "Moral Aspects of College Life" (February, 1890).

Other educational articles in the FORUM are: the "How I Was Educated" series (March, 1886, to January, 1887); "Manual Training in Public Schools," by Prof. T. Davidson (April, 1887); "The Progress of Co-education," by Rev. Dr. C. F. Deems (August, 1887); "What Shall the Public Schools Teach?" a series (February to October, 1888); "The Need of Another University," by Andrew D. White (January, 1889); "A University at Washington," by the same author (February, 1889); "Languages in Modern Education," by Prof. Blackie (June, 1889); "The Cost of Universities," by President D. J. Hill (November, 1889); "Education in Boyhood," by President Dwight (April, 1890); and "The Training of Teachers," by President G. Stanley Hall (September, 1890).

WAS THE EMIN EXPEDITION PIRATICAL?

E. L. Godkin.

EDWIN LAWRENCE GODKIN was born in Moyne, Ireland, of English stock, October 2, 1831, and graduated at Queen's College, Belfast, in 1851. During the Crimean War he was correspondent of the London "Daily News." In 1856 he came to America as correspondent of the same paper, and made a horseback ride through the southern States, which he described in letters to the "News." He was admitted to the New York Bar in 1859, but from 1862 to 1865 he was again correspondent of the London "News," and at the same time an editorial writer on the New York "Times." He is now editor-in-chief of the "Nation" and the New York "Evening Post." The "Nation" was founded by him in 1865, and the two papers were united under a single management in 1881. Mr. Godkin is the author of a "History of Hungary" and of a work on "Government" in the "American Science Series." He has written for the FORUM "The Republican Party and the Negro" (May, 1889); "Public Opinion and the Civil Service" (November, 1889); and "Money Interests in Political Affairs" (September, 1890).

Other articles on Africa in the FORUM are: "American Interests in Africa," by Henry S. Sanford (June, 1890), and "The Division of Africa," by Prof. Émile de Laveleye (January, 1891).

THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF MIND.

Dr. Henry Maudsley.

DR. MAUDSLEY, who is perhaps the greatest living authority on the mind, was born in England in 1835, and took his medical degree at the University of London in 1856. From 1859 to 1862 he was superintendent of the Manchester Royal Lunatic Hospital, and in 1869–79 he was professor of medical jurisprudence at University College, London. Dr. Maudsley was for many years co-editor of the "Journal of Mental Science." His chief works are: "The Physiology and Pathology of the Mind"; "Lectures on the Body and Mind"; and "*Responsibility in Mental Disease.*"

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Other FORUM articles on the brain and the mind are: "The Topography of the Brain" (August, 1888), "Magnetism and Hypnotism" (January, 1890), and "Hypnotism and Crime" (April, 1890)—all by Dr. J. M. Charcot; and "Cerebral Localization" (April, 1888) and "Have We Two Brains or One?" (August, 1890)—both by Dr. C. E. Brown-Séquard.

BOWDLERIZED BIOGRAPHY.

Walter Lewin.

MR. LEWIN was born in Seacombe, Cheshire, England, in 1851. He was trained for commercial life, but left it, after an experience of several years, to devote himself to literature, for which he had had a taste since boyhood. For some years he edited "Papers for the Times," a monthly serial, and in 1884 he joined the staff of the "Academy." He has edited the prose writings of Swift, Addison, and Steele, and the poems of Emerson. Mr. Lewin has written for the FORUM "The Abuse of Fiction" (August, 1889).

Other recent FORUM articles on literary subjects are: "Reviewers and Their Ways," by Andrew Lang (March, 1889); "Success in Fiction," by Margaret O. W. Oliphant (May, 1889); "Making a Name in Literature," by Edmund Gosse (October, 1889); "The Domain of Romance," by Maurice Thompson (November, 1889); "Literary Criticism," by Archdeacon Farrar (May, 1890); "The Limits of Realism in Fiction," by Edmund Gosse (June, 1890); and "The Future of Fiction," by James Sully (August, 1890).

THE FOUR MODES OF LIFE.

Major J. W. Powell.

JOHN WESLEY POWELL was born in Mount Morris, N. Y., March 24, 1834. He served in the civil war, losing his right arm at Shiloh, and at its close became professor of geology in Illinois Wesleyan University. In 1868 he explored the Cañon of the Colorado with such success that Congress created the Topographical and Geological Survey of the Colorado River, of which he was placed in charge. In 1881 he became director of the U. S. Geological Survey. He has written widely on geology and ethnology, most of his works being published as government reports, and has contributed to the FORUM "The Cause of Earthquakes" (December, 1886); "Prehistoric Man in America" (January, 1890); and "Problems of American Archæology" (February, 1890). The present paper is the second of a series on evolution, of which the first, "The Humanities," appeared last December.

Other FORUM articles on that subject are: "Darwin's Brilliant Fallacy," by Prof. St. George Mivart (March, 1889); "Where Darwinism Fails," by the same author (May, 1889); and "Anti-Darwinian Fallacies," by Prof. George J. Romanes (July, 1889).

AS THE CHINESE SEE US.

President W. A. P. Martin.

DR. WILLIAM A. P. MARTIN, president of the Imperial Tung Wen College, Peking, China, was born in Livonia, Ind., April 10, 1827. He graduated at the State University in 1846, entered the Presbyterian ministry, and in 1850 went as a missionary to China, where he has since resided. Dr. Martin has held his present post under the Chinese government since 1869. He has acted as an adviser of the Chinese authorities on questions of international law, notably during the dispute with France in 1884-85, and in the latter year he was made a mandarin of the third class. Besides many works in the Chinese language, he has published "The Chinese: Their Education, Philosophy, and Letters." He has written for the FORUM "Does China Menace the World?" (December, 1890).

Other FORUM articles on the Chinese are: "Why the Chinese Must Be Excluded," by W. B. Farwell (October, 1888); and "The Chinese Exclusion Bill," by Senator Dawes (January, 1889).

THE FARMER'S CHANGED CONDITION.

Prof. Rodney Welch.

PROF. WELCH was born in Monmouth, Me., in 1828, was educated at Colby University, and became a teacher. He has held the chairs of chemistry in Illinois Agricultural College, Hahnemann Medical College, and the University of Chicago. He edited the "Prairie Farmer" for seven years, and was also, for many years, an editorial writer on the "Times" and "Herald," of Chicago. He has written for the FORUM "Horace Greeley's Cure for Poverty" (January, 1890).

Other FORUM articles on farming and farmers are: "Protection and the Farmer," by Senator Cullom (October, 1889); "The Tariff and the Farmer," by John G. Carlisle (January, 1890); "The Possibilities of Agriculture," by Prince Kropotkin (August, 1890); "The Decadence of New England," by George S. Boutwell (October, 1890); "The Probabilities of Agriculture," by C. Wood Davis (November, 1890); "The Embattled Farmers," by Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden (November, 1890); and "Western Farm Mortgages," by Daniel R. Goodloe (November, 1890).

POLITICAL PROGRESS IN JAPAN.

Rev. Dr. W. E. Griffis.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS was born in Philadelphia, September 17, 1843. After serving in a Pennsylvania regiment, in 1863, he went to Rutgers College, and on graduation, in 1869, went to Japan to organize schools there on the American plan. In 1871 he was superintendent of education in the province of Echizen, and in 1872-74 he was professor of physics in Tokio University. On his return to this country he entered the ministry. Among his works are: "The Mikado's Empire"; "Japanese Fairy World"; "Asiatic History"; "Corea, the Hermit Nation"; and "Corea, Without and Within." He has written for the FORUM "Representative Government in Japan" (June, 1889).

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIANS.

Hiram Price.

HIRAM PRICE was born in Washington County, Pa., January 10, 1814, received a common-school education, and became a merchant. In 1844 he removed to Davenport, Iowa, where from 1859 to 1866 he was president of the State Bank of Iowa. At the beginning of the civil war he was made paymaster-general of the State. He sat in Congress from 1863 to 1869, and again from 1877 to 1881, having been chosen as a Republican; and from 1881 to 1885 he was commissioner of Indian affairs. Mr. Price has contributed frequently to the press.

Other FORUM articles on the Indian question are: "The Indians in 1887," by Prof. William G. Sumner (May, 1887), and "The Wrongs of the Ute Indians," by G. T. Kercheval (January, 1890).

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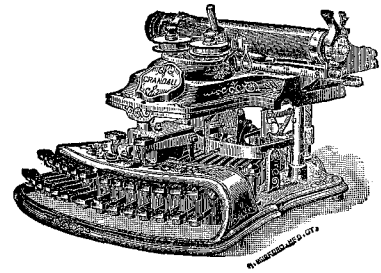

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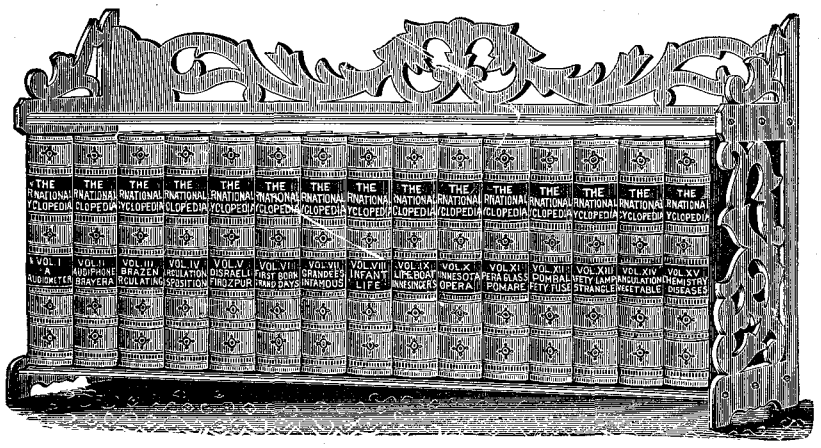

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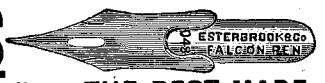

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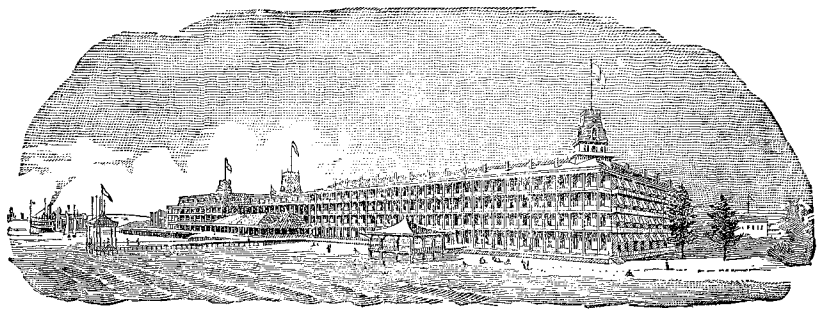

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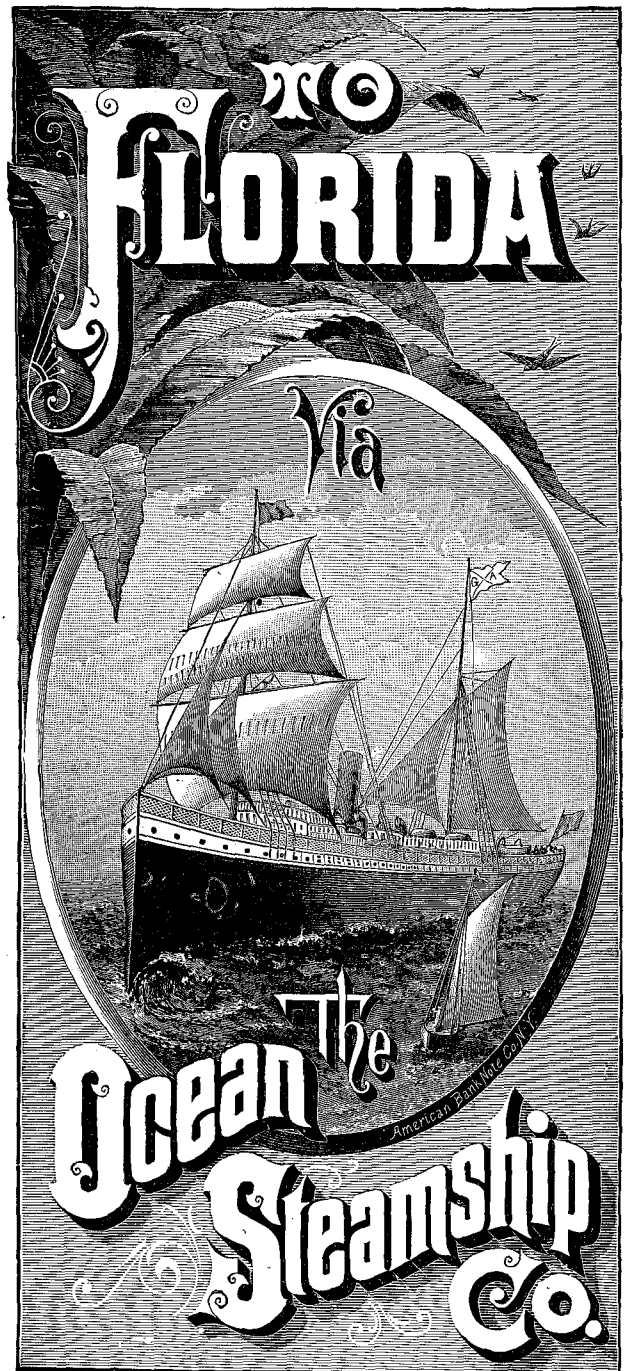

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PARKERSBURG. J. W. Vandevoort.
" Van Winkle & Ambler.
PHILIPPI. Dayton & Dayton.
SPENCER. J. A. A. Vandale.
UNION. Frank Hereford.
WHEELING. W. J. W Cowden.
" Erskine & Allison.
" S. G. Smith.
WINFIELD. Rufus Switzer.

WISCONSIN.

ANTIGO. John H. Trever.
ASHLAND. Wm. F. Shea.
BLACK RIVER FALLS. Carl C. Pope.
CHIPPEWA FALLS. L. J. Rusk.
" W. H. Stafford.
COLUMBUS. E. V. Briesen.
DARLINGTON. Orton & Osborn.
ELKHORN. J. B. Wheeler.
ELLSWORTH. A. Conbacker.
FOND DU LAC. N. C. Giffin.
GALESVILLE. C. W. Farrand.
HAZEL GREEN. H. D. York.
HUDSON. Baker & Helms.
HURLEY. Lennon & Lennon.
JANESVILLE. Dunwiddie & Goldin.
LA CROSSE. E. C. Higbee
LANCASTER. Bushnell & Watkins.
MADISON. Lewis, Pfund, & Briggs.
MILWAUKEE.
Miller, Noyes, & Miller, 102 Wisconsin St.
Winkler, Flanders, Smith, Bottum, & Vilas, 401 E. Water St.
OSCEOLA MILLS. Henry B. Dike.
OSHKOSH. Gary & Forward.
PRAIRIE DU CHIEN. D. Webster.
RHINELANDER. Paul Browne.
RICHLAND CENTER. James H. Miner.
SHAWANO. G. C. Dickinson.
STURGEON BAY. O. E. & Y. V. Dreutzer.
SUPERIOR. D. E. Roberts.
WASHBURN. A. M. Warden.
WAUKESHA. D. H. Sumner.
WAUPACA. Irving P. Lord.
WEST SUPERIOR. L. S. Butler.
" Reed, Grace, & Rock.

WYOMING TERRITORY.

CHEYENNE. J. W. Fisher.
RAWLINS. Homer Merrell.

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EQUITABLE

Mortgage Company.

Condensed Statement, June 30, 1890.

Capital subscribed, - -	$2,000,000.00
Paid in (cash), - - - -	1,000,000.00
Surplus and undivided profits,	- 396,716.85
Assets, - - - -	11,168,685.04

The well-known firm of accountants, Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co., of London, Manchester and New York, upon auditing the accounts of the Company as published June 30, 1890, appended thereto the following certificate:

Having examined the books of the Equitable Mortgage Company, we hereby certify that the foregoing accounts and statement are in conformity therewith, and we believe that the accounts fully and fairly represent the position of the Company as on the 30th June, 1890.

Barrow, Wade, Guthrie & Co.

New York, 16th Oct., 1890.

6 Per Cent. Bonds and Debentures.
4 1-2 and 5 Per Cent. Certificates, running three months to two years.
All first-class investment securities bought and sold.

OFFICES:

New York, 208 Broadway. | London, England.
Phila., 4th and Chestnut Sts. | Berlin, Germany.
Boston, 117 Devonshire St. | Kansas City, Mo.

KNABE

Piano-Fortes,

Fifty years before the public, upon their excellence alone have attained an

UNPURCHASED PRE-EMINENCE

Which establishes them as UNEQUALED in

TONE, TOUCH,

Workmanship, and Durability

WAREROOMS:

148 Fifth Ave., near 20th St., New York.
22 & 24 East Baltimore St., Baltimore.
817 Market Space, Penna. Ave.,
Washington, D. C.

Look Out.

Our soups have won their way everywhere because of their unvarying high quality and convenience. But look out, we have been successful, and as a result, there are imitators. They can't improve on the quality, so they offer a larger profit to grocers at the expense of the quality. Be sure that our trade-mark is on the can you buy or else do not blame us for the consequence.

Green Turtle, Terrapin, Chicken, Consommé, Purée of Game, Mulligatawny, Mock Turtle, Ox Tail, Tomato, Chicken Gumbo, French Bouillon, Julienne, Pea, Printanier, Mutton Broth, Vegetable, Beef, Pearl Tapioca.

Up-to-the-times Grocers keep them.

A sample can will be sent on receipt of the price of postage, 14 cents.

The Franco-American Food Co.,

42 West Broadway, New York.

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The Forum.

FEBRUARY, 1891.

THE VANISHING SURPLUS.

UNLESS something should unexpectedly occur, materially to augment the annual revenues of the government or materially to diminish its annual expenditures, or at least to arrest the increase of the latter, it is evident that there will be, before the opening of the next presidential campaign, a deficit of several million dollars in the public treasury. This, if it occur, will be the direct and unavoidable result of the extravagant policy which was inaugurated by the Republican Party, and which it has fastened upon the country by a series of laws that cannot be repealed or modified for many years without the consent of a Republican Senate. When that party assumed control of the executive department of the government, on March 4, 1889, two thirds of a fiscal year had expired, and therefore the first entire year during which it can be justly held responsible for the expenditures began on July 1, 1889. On that day the available cash balance in the treasury, including the fund for the redemption of national bank notes, and excluding minor coin and subsidiary silver coin, was $149,535,178; and at the end of the fiscal year, on June 30, 1890, the available cash balance, including the redemption fund and small coin as before, was $111,029,107. In the mean time Congress had met in December, 1889, and made the appropriations for the fiscal year 1891; those for the fiscal

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year 1890 having been made at the last session of the Fiftieth Congress, when the House of Representatives was Democratic. At the end of the first five months of the first fiscal year for which the Republican Congress made the appropriations, the available cash balance in the treasury, including the redemption fund and excluding the small coin as in the other cases, had been reduced to the sum of $39,827,875; and at the end of six months it had been reduced to $38,428,805.

Notwithstanding the fact that the interest on the public debt was $3,700,000 less in 1889 than in 1888, the expenses for the former year were $22,342,656 more than in the latter. The interest on the public debt during the fiscal year 1890 was $5,000,000 less than in 1889, and yet the expenses for the former year were $15,739,871 more than in the latter. The interest on the public debt during the current fiscal year, 1891, will be $4,000,000 less than last year; but the expenditures, according to the estimate of the Secretary of the Treasury in his last official report, will be $354,000,000, as against $297,736,486 in 1890, showing an increase of nearly $57,000,000. It is evident, too, that the Secretary has greatly underestimated the expenditures for this year, as he has included nothing for deficiencies except $34,500,000 for pensions, which will make a total expenditure of $133,000,000 during the year for that purpose. The original amount estimated for pensions for the present fiscal year was $98,457,461, and that sum was appropriated at the last session of Congress. Without attempting to state in detail the reasons for the conclusion, which would extend this paper to an unreasonable length and encumber it with a great mass of figures, I consider it entirely safe to say that at least $15,000,000 more than the present estimate will be required to pay pensions during the present year, and that at least $10,000,000 in addition will be required for other deficiencies and for miscellaneous purposes, making in all $25,000,000 to be added to the Secretary's estimate of $354,000,000.

The estimated receipts for the fiscal year 1891 are $406,000,000; but in order to reach this amount the Secretary of the Treasury deducts only $8,668,584 from the amount of custom revenue collected last year, notwithstanding the passage of the

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tariff act, which substantially abolishes the duty on sugar and molasses after March 1, 1891, and reduces the internal tax on manufactured tobacco and snuff one fourth. He includes also $40,000,000 estimated receipts from miscellaneous sources, which exceeds by more than $9,000,000 the amount received last year. It is true that the law does not by its terms repeal the duty on sugar until April 1, 1891, but it permits imported sugar to be refined in bond after March 1, 1891, and the consequence will be that very little, if any, duty will be paid on that article after that date; so that this source of revenue will be practically closed for four months of the fiscal year, instead of for three, as the Secretary assumes.

The revenue collected from imported sugar and molasses last year was $55,172,947, and it is clear that at least one third of this, or $18,390,982, will be lost in the present year. In fact, it is highly probable that the reduction of revenue from these two articles will be much greater than the sum named; for the reason that the importations of sugar, for a considerable period before the first of March, will be limited to the actual demand for immediate consumption, in order to avoid the heavy loss which would necessarily result from having on hand a large supply of duty-paid sugar when the new act shall take effect. The revenue from customs, instead of amounting to $221,000,000, as estimated by the Secretary, is almost certain to fall below $210,000,000; while, owing to the largely-increased prices paid for silver bullion since the passage of the act of July 14, 1890, the miscellaneous receipts will not exceed $30,800,000, the amount collected last year. This will reduce the receipts to $387,000,000.

If these estimates of receipts and ordinary expenditures are approximately correct, the condition of the treasury at the close of this fiscal year, July 1, 1891, will be about as follows:

ASSETS.

Available cash on hand July 1, 1890, including redemption fund,	$111,029,107
Receipts,	387,000,000
Total,	$498,029,107

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LIABILITIES.

Ordinary expenditures,	$379,000,000
Redemption of national bank notes,	22,000,000
Rebate on tobacco and snuff,	1,000,000
Purchases of bonds for the sinking fund, and other redemptions of debt, with premiums, as per Secretary's report,	110,000,000
Total,	$512,000,000

This indicates that there will be a deficit of $14,000,000 on July 1, 1891; and there is every reason to believe that this will be the case, unless the "working balance," which consists of the sums to the credit of disbursing officers, shall be materially reduced. The official estimate of receipts for the fiscal year 1892 is $373,000,000, and the estimated expenditures are $357,852,209; but this latter sum includes nothing for the sinking fund or for rivers and harbors. Besides, it includes only $135,263,085 for pensions, which is at least $25,000,000 less than will have to be expended for that purpose under the provisions of the old laws and those of the new act passed at the last session of Congress. Although nothing is included for rivers and harbors in the Secretary's annual report, the detailed estimates submitted by him to Congress show that the sum of $10,967,250 may be earned by contractors during the fiscal year 1892, under laws already passed. Upon this statement the account will stand as follows at the close of the fiscal year 1892:

ASSETS.

Revenues from all sources,	$373,000,000

LIABILITIES.

Deficit from year 1891,	$14,000,000
Estimated ordinary expenditures, according to the Secretary's report,	357,852,209
Pension deficiency,	25,000,000
Rivers and harbors,	10,967,250
Sinking fund,	49,224,928
Total,	$457,044,387

This shows a deficit of $84,044,387 on July 1, 1892, if the requirements of the sinking fund law are to be complied with, or a deficit of $34,819,459 if nothing whatever is to be paid on that account. According to the last report of the Secretary of

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the Treasury, there will be outstanding on July 1, 1891, United States four-and-a-half-per-cent. bonds to the amount of $51,531,900, all of which will mature on September 1, following; and if the credit of the government is to be preserved, they must be paid on or before that date. Mr. Sherman and others—probably in view of the anticipated inability of the government, with its present resources, to pay this debt—are now urging the passage of a law authorizing the issue and sale of $200,000,000 of new bonds, the proceeds of which, according to the plan proposed, are to be used in taking up outstanding obligations. While this scheme, if adopted, will not to any extent diminish the public debt, it will enable the government to take up the maturing bonds and postpone to a future time the actual payment of the indebtedness represented by them.

Of course it is not claimed that the foregoing statement as to the probable receipts and expenditures during the fiscal years 1891 and 1892 is entirely accurate, but it is believed that it will be found approximately correct, and that the deficit at the end of each year is more likely to exceed than to fall short of the amounts stated. For the sake of brevity, many items of expenditure which have been omitted, or manifestly underestimated, by the Secretary have not been mentioned, while his estimates of receipts during the fiscal year 1892 have been accepted without criticism. For instance, he estimates an expenditure of only $7,000,000 for bounties to the manufacturers of domestic sugar under the late tariff act, although it is almost certain to amount to $10,000,000 or more; and there is no estimate at all for the payments that must be made in redemption of national bank notes, which will probably aggregate $20,000,000. Nothing has been estimated for subsidies and bounties to the owners of ships engaged in the foreign carrying trade, which will amount to $4,000,000 or $5,000,000 the first year, and to a much greater sum each year thereafter. True, the bills authorizing these bounties and subsidies have not, at the time this is written, passed the House of Representatives; but they have passed the Senate, and as they constitute a part of the policy of the dominant party, they will doubtless be concurred in before the adjournment.

The increase of public expenditures in the United States,

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during the century for which the government has been in existence under the Constitution, is without a parallel in history. Ordinarily the growth of expenditures ought not to keep pace with the growth of population, for the obvious reason that the number of inhabitants increases in a geometrical ratio at a certain per cent. compounded annually. While it may not be reasonable to insist upon the strict application of this rule in a new and rapidly-developing country like ours, it is certainly not unreasonable to claim that even here the rate of increase in expenditures, in a healthy state of public affairs, ought not to be greatly in excess of the rate of increase in population. We find, however, that while our population in 1890 was only 16 times as great as in 1790, our expenditures, excluding all payments upon the interest and principal of the public debt, were more than 130 times as great. In other words, the population increased from 3,929,214 in 1790 to 62,480,540 in 1890, while the ordinary annual expenditures, excluding payments on the principal and interest of the public debt, rose from $1,919,592 to $261,637,203.

It may be said that the expenditures for the year 1790–91 do not afford a fair basis for comparison, because the government had then just been established and was scarcely yet in complete operation throughout the whole country. If, however, we take the year 1810, twenty years after the adoption of the Constitution, we find that the population was 7,239,881, and that the expenditures, excluding the same items as before, were $5,311,082, or 73 cents per capita. In 1890, eighty years afterward, the population was less than nine times as great as it was then, but the ordinary expenditures were more than 48 times as great, and amounted to $4.19 per capita. From 1830 to 1840, including the period of the Seminole war, the population increased 32.67 per cent. and the expenditures increased 80 per cent.; from 1840 to 1850, during which time the war with Mexico was commenced and prosecuted to a successful termination, the population increased 35.87 per cent. and the expenditures increased 53 per cent.; but from 1880 to 1890, a period of profound peace, population increased 24.57 per cent. and expenditures increased 55 per cent. The ordinary expenditures for the current fiscal year, 1891, will be at least 12 per cent. greater than in 1890, although the popula-

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tion, as shown by the recent census, is increasing at a rate of less than 2½ per cent. per annum.

General Garfield, in a carefully-prepared speech delivered in the House of Representatives while he was chairman of the Committee on Appropriations, said:

> "It is manifest, however, that the necessity of expenditures does not keep pace with the mere increase of numbers; and while the total sum of moneys expended must necessarily be greater from year to year, the amount per capita ought, in all well-regulated governments in time of peace, to grow gradually less."

In the United States, as already shown, the per-capita expenditure, instead of gradually growing less in time of peace, is steadily growing larger. It may not be altogether uninteresting or unprofitable to inquire briefly why it is that the sum of what are denominated ordinary expenditures is increasing so much more rapidly than population. An analysis of the treasury statistics for any given series of years will show that, while there is a general tendency in this country to increase expenditures for the ordinary purposes of government faster than the increase of population, and thus to augment the amount per capita, yet if the annual payments on account of pensions should be deducted, the increase on other accounts might be plausibly, and perhaps satisfactorily, explained by the extension of our occupied territory, by improvements made in the public service, and by other causes incident to an advancing civilization. In 1860 the population was 31,443,321, and the expenditures, excluding pensions and the other items heretofore mentioned, were $58,850,356, or $1.87 per capita; in 1880 the population was 50,155,783, and the expenditures, excluding the same items, were $112,312,886, or $2.24 per capita, showing an increase of 37 cents in twenty years; and in 1890 the population was 62,480,540, and the expenditures, excluding the same items as before, were $154,700,346, or $2.47 per capita, showing an increase of 23 cents in ten years. But including pensions and excluding the other items—that is, payments upon the interest and principal of the public debt—the expenditures in 1860 amounted to $1.90 per capita, in 1880 to $3.37, and in 1890 to $4.19. This statement is sufficient to show that the great in-

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crease of our expenditures per capita is attributable mainly to the growth and extension of our pension system, and that therefore we cannot reasonably expect, under the policy now prevailing, any substantial reduction of public expenses for many years.

In 1889 the amount expended for pensions was $87,624,779; in 1890 it was $106,936,855; in 1891 it will be, according to the Secretary's estimate, $133,000,000; and in 1892 it will be, according to the same authority, $135,263,085, which is, as already stated, at least $25,000,000 less than will be actually demanded. This increase will undoubtedly continue for several years, and the country will be unexpectedly fortunate if the expenditures for this purpose stop short of $200,000,000 per annum. In 1872 General Garfield, in the speech just referred to, said:

> "We may reasonably expect that the expenditures for pensions will hereafter steadily decrease, unless our legislation should be unwarrantably extravagant."

At the time this declaration was made the annual expenditure for pensions was only $28,533,402, or not much more than one fifth of the amount now required. Six years afterward the amount had been reduced to $27,135,019; but then, on account of the passage of the arrearage act and the introduction of the subject into the party politics of the country, the expenditure began to increase, and it has continued to grow until we already have an annual charge upon the public treasury greatly in excess of the cost of maintaining the largest standing army in Europe. Whether this is the legitimate result of a just and beneficent policy, or of ill-advised and extravagant legislation, is a question upon which there may be wide differences of opinion; but whatever view may be taken of the merits of the system as it now exists, all must agree that it cannot be further extended without seriously embarrassing the operations of the government or unreasonably taxing the resources of the people. Our present revenues will not justify additional expenditures for this or any other purpose, and neither the financial condition of the country nor the existing state of public opinion will tolerate the imposition of new burdens, in the form of taxation or otherwise.

It is the boast of this country that it maintains no large

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military establishment, and that its people are exempt from the charges imposed upon the people of other countries for the support of great standing armies in time of peace. It is a proud reflection that our citizens are not conscripted for military service, and that our cities and towns are not garrisoned and patrolled by professional soldiers; but in regard to the mere matter of expense we have no cause for congratulation. No standing army in the world costs the people so much as our army of discharged soldiers. Great Britain, with a regular army of more than 225,000 officers and men, and a total force, effective and non-effective, of 618,000, pays annually less than $75,000,000; and France, with a regular force of 580,000, besides an enormous reserve, pays $111,000,000. The army of the German Empire, the best-appointed and best-equipped military force in the world, consisting, on a peace footing, of 492,000 officers and men, costs annually less than $92,000,000; while the actual field force of Russia, numbering 814,000, is maintained at an expense of less than $94,000,000. These are the annual charges to which the people of four great European nations are subjected in order to maintain a constantly-available and effective force for their own defense in case of war, and for the preservation of the "balance of power" which their governments consider necessary to guarantee their independence. Although we are at peace among ourselves and with all the world, and have no foreign or domestic policy to make such an expenditure necessary, we are paying more than $135,000,000 annually to the soldiers of a war that closed twenty-five years ago. The payment of reasonable pensions, on account of wounds actually received and diseases actually contracted in the military or naval forces in time of war, is just and right in itself, and is, moreover, the wisest policy that can be adopted by a government which relies for its defense almost exclusively upon the voluntary services of its citizens; but the gratuitous distribution of public money among certain classes of the people is neither just nor consistent with the character of our institutions.

All other things being equal, that is the best government which exacts the least tribute from its citizens or subjects. One of the principal objects of all good government is to promote the

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material welfare of its people by protecting them in the honest accumulation and peaceable enjoyment of property; and this cannot be fully accomplished by any government which takes from them, in the form of taxation or otherwise, more than is necessary to discharge its just obligations and to defray the expense of an economical administration of public affairs. The public peace may be preserved, the rights of person may be scrupulously respected, and ample remedies may be afforded for all injuries inflicted upon the citizen by private individuals; but all this will not make the people prosperous, or permit them to be so, if the government itself robs one part of them for the purpose of distributing the spoils to another part. Generosity is a commendable virtue, but justice is a greater one. It is the confirmed and incurable habit of the party now in power to dispose of the public money in a wasteful and extravagant manner, and there is no reason to suppose that it will cease to pursue this course until the treasury is exhausted. What was two years ago the richest public treasury in the world, will be substantially bankrupt long before the term of the present administration shall expire, and then, perhaps, even the executive officers of the government, who now delight in creating deficiencies to be supplied by additional appropriations, will be willing to assist in devising some plan by which expenditures can be curtailed.

J. G. CARLISLE.

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FORMATIVE INFLUENCES.

I WAS born nearly sixty years ago, and lived the first fourteen years of my life in my native city, Charleston, South Carolina. In all that time I never went farther than Augusta, the terminus of what was, in those early years, the longest railroad in the world. In all that time I never saw a mountain, and, as a consequence, no mountain has ever come up to my childish standard. Snow fell but twice that I can remember; ice was never thick enough to bear. The forty years that I have spent in more northerly climes have not changed my preference for the light and warmth of a southern sky. Perhaps early travel would have made me more tolerant of other conditions, but I was not singular in my home-keeping. Travel was not common in those days. A trip to New York or to Philadelphia was an event. My mother's voyage in a "packet" to a northern port before she was married, and her sojourn in various northern towns, made a heroine of her in the eyes of her children. My father was born in that distant region, and the story of his progress southward, on horseback, was as thrilling to us as was the story of Ulysses' adventures to the Phæacian court. We were incredibly narrow. Charleston was the center. Thither came the rich planter and occupied his town house when the dread of the deadly "country fever" chased him from his plantation—that plantation which city cousins loved to visit at Christmas time. The resident of Charleston, when he left the town at all in the hottest season, was content to seek refuge on Sullivan's Island or, if favored by fortune, betook himself to Flat Rock. The Virginia springs seemed as far away as Alaska does now, and yet there were those whose ambition did not stop short of that distant goal, and who journeyed thither in the family coach. Those who could not travel were intense Charlestonians, and those who could were not much less intense. Men who knew both Paris and Charleston spoke respectfully of Charleston. I

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was proud of my native city; considered St. Michael's "one of the finest churches in the country, sir," if not the finest; and believed in my heart of hearts that there was no more spacious promenade than the Battery—which I used to pace with a certain religious exaltation—no grander houses than the old family mansions, no nobler street than Meeting Street. I knew every nook and corner of the town, kept a map of Charleston in my room long after I had left the "confluence of the Ashley and Cooper Rivers," and would not suffer the memory of Amen Street and Zigzag Alley to perish. No other names have ever made the same aristocratic music in my ear as the names of the old Huguenot families; and when courtliness of manner is mentioned, my memory at once recalls the ceremonious old gentlemen who were held up to us as models of politeness.

First a Charlestonian, I was next a Carolinian. No man of my State would have tolerated a prefix. North Carolinians might specify, not we. Toward Georgians I had, and still have, the kindest feelings, for Georgia was my father's first and dearest southern home; but though I did not wish to wound the feelings of Georgians, I could not help insisting on my birthright. I was Charlestonian first, Carolinian next, and then a southerner—on my mother's side a southerner beyond dispute. My father, however, was a northern man, and that flaw in my title made me perhaps the more tenacious of my nativity. But most of my southern kindred admitted that, for a northerner, he was a passably good southerner. He was an ardent nullifier, and he had no misgivings on the great question of questions, for he had left his northern home before domestic slavery had ceased to exist in the upper tier of States. He believed that Charleston was one of the healthiest cities on the globe. He never quailed before Yellow Jack, who nearly took his life; he never flinched before cholera; and at the time of the great fire he was among the foremost in saving what was to be saved. In this frame he continued to the end. He was seventy years old when the civil war broke out, but despite his age he joined the Home Guard of Richmond, and if he did not send his four sons to the front, it was because he did not have to send them. So I am the son of a passable southerner, and a passable southerner myself; and

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being a southerner and thoroughly identified with the South, I have shared the fortunes of the land in which my lot was cast, and in my time have shared its prejudices and its defiant attitude. A clearer vision and a more tolerant spirit have come with wider experience and mellower years, but I do not regret the influence of the earlier isolation. It prepared me for slow and scant recognition, which might have been slow and scant in any case, and it taught me to seek my solace in my work and to do that work without regard to the praise of man.

The influence of this sectional isolation was strengthened by the discipline of the household. We children were early taught not to think too well of ourselves or of human nature; and I have wondered how we could have been so merry, and how our parents could have had so keen a sense of humor, in the midst of so perverse and crooked a generation. My mother was a loving woman of quick sensibilities, who had a heart full of true religion and a head free from theology, true or false; but her creed was that of her husband, and he was a theologian in grain and a doughty controversialist. His favorite verse of the Psalms was "Blessed be the Lord my strength, which teacheth my hands to war and my fingers to fight," and with this he invariably silenced my mother's gentle protest. One of my earliest recollections is his battle royal with Bishop England. Then for long months the air was resonant with the shouts of "old school" and "new school," and in this turmoil my father's trumpet gave no uncertain sound. That a trumpet should give an uncertain sound seemed to me a mysterious and deadly sin, and I grew up a Calvinist like my father; so that, whatever sins of youth may be laid to my charge, it cannot be said that I was a Pelagian, or even a semi-Pelagian. But I was soon sated with controversy, and have never had a relish for debates of any kind. If, however, one has to fight, it is well to hit hard.

While emphasizing the local patriotism that so largely determined my fortunes and my character, I must not forget to add that, after all, we were better Americans than many people of the present day. There was no such thing as Anglomania then, except perhaps in a limited circle in which the ancestral connection with England was kept up. As against the North, we

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were southerners; as against England, we were national enough. It must be remembered that 1812 was nearer to my childhood than the war between the States is to the children of to-day; and not only so, but veterans of the Revolution still survived. Two or three of those old soldiers are prominent figures in the picture gallery of my brain, and my own grandmother fostered my patriotism by telling stories about the insolence of the British during their occupation of Charleston. It is true that, like genuine Carolinians, we celebrated with especial enthusiasm the anniversary of the battle of Fort Moultrie; but the twenty-eighth of June did not efface the Fourth of July, and the Society of the Cincinnati held its annual banquet and drank its toasts with a deep conviction that the Revolution was not a mistake, but a grand achievement, to which Carolina had contributed gloriously. The war changed the attitude of the South toward England; of late years personal intercourse with English people on their own soil, and generous recognition and co-operation on the part of English scholars, have made the "old home" a place of pleasant sojourn to me; but I am, or ought to be, American enough to satisfy even the Reverend Edward Everett Hale. Germans have called me a "practical, cool-headed, sober-minded American"; Frenchmen have alluded to my "*humour Yankee*"; and a few months ago an English reviewer took me to task for a vainglorious patriotism.

My father was ordained as an "evangelist," and never held a pastorate in all his long life, though he was often a "stated supply." His chief work lay in the editorial field, and at the time of his retirement from the "Central Presbyterian" he was the senior of the religious press of America. He had been a teacher also, in fact, he began his life in the South as one of the principals of Mount Zion Academy in Georgia; and whenever stress of fortune demanded it, he resumed the profession, though I suspect that his heart was never in it. School room and printing office have been parts of my life from the beginning until now. After I left the nursery, until I was between twelve and thirteen, my father was my only teacher. My lessons were heard at odd hours, often when my father was tired from work; and hard was the work that would tire that heroic soul. He had, it is true,

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a certain satisfaction in my literary bent, but my performances in construing and doing sums often roused him to wrath, which I never considered righteous wrath until many years afterward, when I in my turn took the double part of parent and teacher —a most undesirable combination. It was, as I remember it, a very tumultuous affair, that earliest education of mine. I could read when I was between three and four years of age, and signalized the completion of my fifth year by reading the Bible from cover to cover. Needless to say, the reading was not with the understanding. Latin I learned at a tender age, and I "got through" Cæsar, Sallust, Cicero, Virgil, and Horace before the time when boys of to-day have fairly mastered the rudiments. To be sure, it was a false start, and I had to begin over again twice at least. Of Greek I learned enough to make out the New Testament, with the help of a good training in the English version; and I still own and prize a copy of Plato given to me in 1843 by our scholarly family physician, Dr. Samuel H. Dickson. The version of the "Crito" which I undertook in order to show myself worthy of the gift is still among my papers, and a translation of Anacreon into English verse is not much later. It is astonishing how much enjoyment one can get out of a language that one understands imperfectly. French I picked up after a fashion. I had read sundry plays of Corneille, Racine, and Molière before I was fourteen, and had the advantage of a few lessons in Manesca's oral system. Of German I knew only a few words.

As to English, I read everything that I could lay my hands on. My father's library was very meager, and consisted chiefly of theological works and the miscellaneous literature sent to the editor of a religious weekly for review; but I borrowed right and left. Every now and then a book was given to me for my private collection. These volumes were highly prized, both new and old; and they were diligently conned. I knew by heart long extracts from "Advent, a Mystery," by the Rev. Arthur Cleveland Coxe; and I read over and over again "The Life of Baron Frederic Trenck," translated from the German by Thomas Holcroft. I can perhaps give no better samples of the chaos of my brain. The only poet my father cared for or quoted was Milton, whose "Paradise Lost," being used in school for lessons

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in parsing, did not commend itself to my mind. Shakespeare, being "immoral," was not tolerated in a minister's house; so on Saturdays I used to go up to the house of an ungodly great-uncle who lived on the "Neck," and there I pored over the coveted volumes. I listened with rapt delight while my ancient kinsman recited his favorite passages, which became my favorite passages too, and while he told me stories of the great actors he had seen and heard, notably of Hackett in the part of Falstaff. I wheedled the "dour" old custodian of the Apprentices' Library —a Scotchman—into letting me have the Waverley novels, in lieu of the doleful histories that my father had prescribed for my reading; and some of my happiest hours have been spent among the scenes conjured up by the Wizard of the North, as he was then called, though I had to hold myself in readiness to tuck the volume under the sofa pillow whenever I heard a certain heavy step. In his old age my father became a novel-reader himself, but I never confessed my sin to him.

The bad effects of my wide and desultory reading were counteracted, in a measure, by a love of writing. Composition in prose I practiced diligently as soon as I could form the letters, but composition in prose did not give me half the pleasure that versification did. I disfigured my mother's beautiful album with my schoolboy scrawls; had the ecstatic delight of seeing my verses printed in a child's paper, the "Bouquet"; indited carriers' addresses to the patrons of the "Charleston Observer"; and prepared hymns to be sung at the meetings of the Juvenile Missionary Society. All my early verses were as bad as they well could be; but I persevered in metrical composition for many years, until I gained a useful command of the form, and to this day the Muse can tickle my brain as I lie asleep—otherwise not.

I have used up a great deal of space in an account of my early years, for, on looking back over my past, I see that all that came after lay implicit in that first period. An imaginative, impulsive, *prime-sautier* boy, proud, shy, self-conscious, cursed with a poetic temperament, and unblessed by poetic power, I was made to recognize the duty of work by the unyielding pressure of the creed in which I was brought up. That creed, it is true, seemed at times to have lost its hold, but the principle remained

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under every change of form. A professional ideal is as unrelenting as the Westminster Catechism. I have lapsed often enough, and a long lapse I am about to record, but the sense of violated duty has been there to punish me, to scourge me back.

I passed out of my father's hands into those of a severe drill master, William E. Bailey, a well-known teacher of the classics, and was prepared by him for entering the College of Charleston; but in 1845, while I was still a freshman, a change in my fortunes took place. My father removed to Virginia, and in breaking up his home broke up the regular habits of work which I had formed. For a year or more I was my father's clerk and book-keeper, and pretended to study, but there was no more hearing of lessons. From time to time I wrote a little book notice or summary of religious intelligence for the "Watchman and Observer;" but it was a sadly idle time, and my conscience was sore disquieted. In December, 1846, I was sent to Jefferson College, in Pennsylvania. There I "scamped" my lessons, which was a bad thing, and kept an account of my reading, which was a good thing. Perhaps I should have done better if the teaching had not been perfunctory; but others learned something, and wherever learning is going forward, he who does not learn has himself to blame. Dr. Robert J. Breckinridge was president of the college, and I was much impressed with his resolute ways; otherwise I did not have much opportunity of cultivating the grace of reverence. At Princeton, to which I was transferred in 1847, I was a fair student of the college course; for while I set out with a philosophic contempt of college honors, I could not bear to disappoint my father wholly, and finally gladdened him by graduating fourth in a class of 79 members. At that period the work necessary to hold a good rank at Princeton was slight, and I devoted nearly all my time to the study of literature. In the disposition of that time I was very systematic, and though by nature inclined to be a pupil of the *école buissonnière*, I have, through all my long career as student and teacher, laid out my work and my time with great exactness, and have always considered punctuality in the fulfillment of every species of engagement an indispensable virtue. This, too, is a result of the instruction of my father.

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At Princeton I began German in good earnest, and read a good deal of French and Italian. I made the acquaintance of Montaigne, whose easy philosophy and playful use of quotation delighted me; and Danté was a close companion of mine. Of Spanish I had learned something in a private class at Richmond; but at college I contented myself with reading easy authors, and I still remember a volume of "Elegant Extracts" and the drearinesses of one Feijoo. In English I worked especially at the Elizabethan dramatists, reading among others all Beaumont and Fletcher, and writing out an analysis of every play with critical reflections. This habit of making abstracts of my reading has stood me in good stead ever since. The literary society to which I belonged did not interest me much. Intimates I had none; friends not many. In fact, the great contrast, I find, between American scholars and European, is the small part that personal influence bears in the case of my countrymen. After we pass beyond our pupilage, books necessarily determine us more than men. The glimpses I have had of scholarly intercourse on the other side of the water have sufficed to show me how delightful the life must be in some of its aspects; and yet the solitary wrestle has its advantages.

After I left college, a stripling not yet eighteen, I undertook to act as classical master in the foremost private school of Richmond—Dr. Maupin's. It was not long before I found out the weak places of my own knowledge, and began—what I ought to have been taught many years before—to write exercises in Latin and in Greek. There is no better way, as Quintilian says, or as Lord Bacon says after him, and there is no shorter way, of making an exact scholar. The necessity of close observation, the necessity of formulating rules, first for my own guidance, then for the guidance of my pupils, made me in time a fair grammarian, and has given me my only claim to have contributed something to the science of my chosen province.

At this period of my life, both before leaving college and immediately afterward, I was morally much under the influence of Carlyle. Carlyle introduced me to Goethe, the most important of all the teachers I ever had. Goethe's aphorisms were my daily food. I committed my favorite passages to memory.

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I repeated them over and over to myself in my long solitary rambles, and Goethe was my mainstay at a time when my faith had suffered an eclipse. This was the epoch of my Teutonomania, the time when I read German, wrote German, listened to German, and even talked German—to myself if I could not find any long-suffering German to submit to my experiments. In the Summer of 1850 I sailed on the tobacco ship "Hermine," Raschen, master, from Richmond for Bremen. Three continuous years were spent abroad in study and travel, most of the time in Germany. I have visited Europe five times since I left it in 1853, but only one of those visits was made for professional purposes, and whatever formative influence European life has had on me must be sought in those earlier years. After some wavering I became a classical philologian; not necessarily as a vocation for life, but as a preparation for some indefinite work. The school which looked upon philology as the "science of antiquity" was dominant at that time, and the hopelessness of that ideal was not felt then as it is now. The wide scope of studies suited my discursive mind; a narrower range would have starved me out. I studied successively at Berlin, Göttingen, and Bonn. Of my most important teachers—of Böckh, Franz, Karl Friedrich Hermann, Schneidewin, Bernays, Welcker, and above all of Ritschl—I have no space to write here. To each one of these men I owe something special, and in this period of my life men counted more than books. To Germany and the Germans I am indebted for everything professionally, in the way of apparatus and of method, and for much, very much, in the way of inspiration. But I went to Germany wretchedly equipped, and if it had not been for my early training in a stern school I should not have had the courage to push forward my studies. I should have wearied of the enormous strain required to correct as well as to add, to repair as well as to build. At the end of five *semesters* I passed my examination for a degree, and returned to America, there to endure the hardest discipline of all—the discipline of waiting for what I considered a suitable sphere. Of course I was not idle meanwhile. Besides continuing my philological studies, I gave lessons, made translations, wrote review articles, and tasted the salt bread of a tutor-

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ship in a private family. Finally I cursed my day and resolved to abandon my ungrateful calling, and as an introduction to literary life I planned and nearly finished a novel. But in the Autumn of 1856 I was elected professor of Greek in the University of Virginia. My only regret was that I was in port so early. I was not yet twenty-five.

The system of the University of Virginia imposes great responsibility on the heads of the various schools. If a man has a conscience he cannot be an indolent teacher there; "the genius of the place is hard work," as the sons of the university love to repeat. There was nothing there to lure one away from hard work, and I stuck to my business of preparing lectures and correcting exercises. My motto was, "Grow, not climb," and I was content to wait. The salary was ample for an unmarried man, and I was not exposed to the vulgar temptation of increasing my reputation in order to make merchandise of it. I planned several books, but finished none, and never wrote a line for the press, or appeared before the general public in any way, from the date of my election until 1863—seven long years. Then the stress of hard times made me resume my pen as a means of livelihood, and I supplemented my salary by editorial contributions to the Richmond "Examiner," which I continued until I joined the staff of General Gordon, during Early's campaign, in the Summer of 1864. In that campaign I lost my pocket Homer, I lost my pistol, I lost one of my horses, and finally I came very near losing my life by a wound which kept me five months on my back. During a good part of that time I devoted myself to Spanish, in the firm expectation that after the disastrous conclusion of the war, which all soldiers foresaw, unrepentant rebels like myself would be banished the country; and I thought of South America. But it turned out otherwise, and in due time I limped back to my chair. Since the conclusion of the war, pressure from without has never ceased, and in obedience to that pressure I have every now and then emerged from lecture room and study into public performance. I have delivered addresses, I have written for newspapers, I have written for magazines, I have made books, I have for more than ten years conducted a quarterly which is not meant for popular reading; and now, to my surprise, I

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have been requested by the editor of the FORUM to recall the influences that have determined my course in life and have led to what must be called a very moderate *succès d'estime*.

After serving the University of Virginia for twenty years, I was called to do like service in the Johns Hopkins University. The greater freedom of action, the larger appliances, the wider and richer life, the opportunities for travel and for personal intercourse, have stimulated production and have made my last fourteen years my most fruitful years in the eyes of the scholarly world; but the roots go back to the first fourteen years. If one day it shall be said of me that I was not slothful in business, fervent in spirit, let nature be credited with the fervor; the diligence is due to the early domination of a creed which itself is dominated by the "stern daughter of the voice of God."

BASIL L. GILDERSLEEVE.

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THE NEXT STEP IN EDUCATION.

THE general condition of discontent with that state of chaos which is sometimes dignified by being called "our system of higher education," is, perhaps, a hopeful sign. "System" is a convenient word, but we can hardly claim that in this connection it is used with any very exact significance. Our colleges find it necessary to unite the legitimate work of universities with the legitimate work of secondary education; our universities are everywhere doing not a little of the work of colleges; and colleges and universities alike are doing much of the work that should be done, and indeed is done, in the high schools and academies. This poaching of each upon the preserves of the others is none the less real because it is done, as a rule, with mutual consent and with mutual complaisance.

But of late certain centers of educational motion have given signs of unwonted activity. This chaos of education is showing something like self-consciousness. Let us, for a moment, take a survey of the general field, for the purpose of ascertaining, with such accuracy as we can, the direction in which the higher education is drifting. We have in this country about 400 institutions empowered to confer degrees; but not more than a score, probably not more than half a score, are as yet so far above the others as to be unquestionably entitled to an exceptional designation. Even this small number—let us say ten—still feel themselves obliged to do, during much of the time at least, essentially the same grade of work that is done by the 390 others. For however superior we may fancy some of the instruction to be, it is nevertheless true that there is a prime necessity for the same class-room drill in the elements of language, the same elementary instruction in several of the natural sciences, the same general preponderance of elementary or secondary work. This must necessarily be the fact so long as the ten and the 390 receive their pupils from the same schools or from the same class

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of schools. The fact, I suppose, is admitted by everybody and regretted by everybody. Before any other movement can be successfully made, this chaos must be resolved into order. It follows that the next step in higher education is the proper co-ordination of the colleges and the universities.

Of the efforts made within the past few years to resolve this chaos, or at least to mitigate its evils, a few are worthy of a moment's examination. The one that comes first into mind is the plan adopted at Johns Hopkins University. Here two distinct efforts have been made: first, the organization of graduate work on the basis of a completed college education; secondly, the establishment of a modified system of undergraduate studies, leading to the baccalaureate degree. The work of instruction has thus become partly the work of a true university and partly that of a true college. Of the nature and character of the university work itself it is not necessary here to speak. Of the nature of the collegiate work something is to be said; for in its methods it differs radically from anything that has gone before, though in some of its less important characteristics it is analogous to the various plans that have already been adopted at the University of Michigan and elsewhere. The distinguishing feature of the scheme of organization is the effort it makes, not so much to give elementary instruction in a large number of studies, thus fitting the pupil to advance into the higher realms of work in any one of a large number of subjects, as to concentrate the attention of the student upon a single subject and its cognate studies, for the purpose of preparing him for closely-specialized work, at a later period, in the university. The system of grouping adopted in the collegiate department at Johns Hopkins undoubtedly gives a very excellent special preparation for university work; but obviously it is accompanied by this disadvantage, that it gives a very different kind of preparation from that furnished by a majority of the colleges of the country. The student of the college at Johns Hopkins, on going to the university after three years of specialized preparation, must find himself very much further advanced in the work of his specialty than the mass of his fellow students who have taken four years of general or non-specialized preparatory work. It is not my

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purpose here to discuss the large question as to whether specialization should be attempted in the college; but it may at least be assumed as desirable that in all efforts we should work toward a system that may ultimately be practicable in all the schools.

While this interesting experiment has been going on at one of the youngest of our universities, one of a very different nature has been tried at the oldest. In the development of graduate work at Harvard, and in the emphasis given to it there by the recent establishment of what is called a "graduate school," it seems that the purpose has been to regard the undergraduate courses as collegiate or secondary. This would seem to be a specific abandonment of the ground taken at the time when the elective system was adopted. The logical justification of that important step was the supposition that the preparatory school is doing the secondary work in acceptable amount, and that, in consequence, the student at the time of entering college is ready to profit by the freedom of university methods. If the collegiate course is to have the nature of university work, it is not easy to see why it need be followed by separate and distinct graduate courses. If, on the other hand, it is to be regarded as collegiate work, it would seem that it ought to follow what are generally regarded as correct collegiate methods. According to all our standards, there should be in the university a large measure of freedom, while in collegiate or secondary institutions the pupil ought to be held with considerable firmness to a prescribed disciplinary course. If, in view of this anomaly, one is led to ask whether the undergraduate course at Harvard is to be regarded as university work or as collegiate work, of course the answer is that it is neither the one nor the other, in any exact sense of the term. Three steps have been taken: first, the increasing of the requirements for admission, in order to advance the collegiate work to a university grade; secondly, the organizing of this advanced collegiate work in accordance with accepted university methods; and, thirdly, the superimposing of a university organization, composed exclusively of graduate students. This brings us to the same question that was asked in regard to the work at Johns Hopkins, namely, Does Harvard furnish a model that can be successfully followed by the other universities of the country?

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Still a different solution of the question has been attempted at Columbia College. By the action taken some years ago in establishing the School of Political Science, a beginning was made in a system which was somewhat further developed by the organization of the School of Philosophy last year. The essential characteristic of that system is a recognition of the end of the junior year as the point where the collegiate system should end and where the advanced system should begin. I use the phrase "advanced system," in distinction from "university system," for the reason that in this case, so far as I am able to judge, the methods of instruction after the student passes into the fourth year of the collegiate course are not essentially different from those of the previous course; in other words, they are not those commonly adopted for university students. We have here, then, a tendency the very opposite of that which prevails at Harvard. While at the older institution the tendency has been to carry university freedom down into all parts of the collegiate grade, at the younger it has been to carry collegiate strictness up into university work.

Besides this general characteristic, another is worthy of notice. The student at Columbia not only leaves the jurisdiction of the general faculty at the end of the junior year, but he is permitted, while pursuing studies designed to lead up to the doctorate, to carry on professional studies and to receive credit for the same. In theory, at least, there appears to be no reason why in Columbia College the degrees of Ph.D. and LL.B. cannot be taken together in two years after the baccalaureate degree has been received. I do not intend here to criticise this system as such, even by implication, but simply to point out its peculiarities, for purposes of comparison with the other systems to which I have already adverted. Aside from the question as to how far it is advisable to encourage advanced studies in history and political science by offering a higher degree while students are carrying on professional studies, there is the larger question as to whether professional studies themselves are not so absorbing as to exact the entire time and attention of the student. The answer to this must ultimately, in my judgment, set the seal of approval or disapproval upon the Columbia method.

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We have thus far seen that at Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and Columbia three different methods have been attempted for solving the educational problem. Neither of these, up to the present time, has had any considerable number of imitators. The other colleges and universities, though there is great variety in the adjustment of details, follow one general plan of superimposing university work upon the completed college course. In very many of the colleges, what are called graduate courses are offered; but they are not open to undergraduates.

In this system, if it may be called a system, there is one obvious anomaly. In nearly or quite all our colleges, at the present day, elective work occupies no small part of the time during the senior year; in many of them this is the case during the junior year. It follows that the student, by the mere fact of having taken a baccalaureate degree, is not necessarily well prepared to enter upon advanced work in any given subject. A class of graduate students, taken from a considerable number of American colleges, will be found to have, as a whole, a very heterogeneous and inadequate preparation for advanced work. Graduates going from the small colleges to Johns Hopkins, Harvard, or Cornell will generally be found not better prepared for advanced work than the seniors, or perhaps even the juniors, of the universities that receive them. The result is that, by anything like an inflexible classification into graduate and non-graduate work, great injustice is liable to be done. The graduate student from another college is put to advanced work before he has laid the proper preliminary foundation; or he is put back into undergraduate classes; or, thirdly, the graduate classes are obliged to do more elementary work than that performed by the most advanced classes of undergraduates. This anomalous state of affairs seems likely to continue so long as the dividing line between the college and the university is theoretically at one point, while practically it is at another.

Besides the practical efforts that have been made in the several institutions already named, one method has recently been suggested as a means of separating the universities from the colleges. It has been proposed that the 375 colleges, more or less, should place themselves in the subordinate position of secondary

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schools, and that the remaining 25 larger institutions should confine themselves to university work. However desirable such a classification may be as an ideal scheme, the practical difficulties in the way of bringing it about are great, and, it seems to me, absolutely insurmountable. It is difficult to see how any authority could determine which institutions should take the rank of universities and which should retain that of colleges. It is equally difficult to conceive of a willingness on the part of smaller institutions to take a lower rank voluntarily. There would be candidates enough for universities; but where would be the candidates for colleges? This classification, if ever it can be brought about, must be accomplished through the settled force of influences that will cause the various institutions of the country to gravitate, so to speak, by an irresistible force, into the positions to which they are naturally adapted. Is there any way in which such a force may be set to work?

It would be foolhardy to dogmatize on a question that has taxed the mental resources of so many men of educational ability, but I hope that I shall not be deemed guilty of unpardonable presumption in suggesting a method of solution. It has already been intimated that the dividing line between the college and the university seems naturally to fall at the period when required work ends and elective work begins. It will be universally admitted, I suppose, that the distinguishing feature of the ideal college is a somewhat rigid adherence to certain fixed courses of study, while that of an ideal university is a large freedom, not only in selecting the courses of study, but also in the methods of pursuing such courses. The one has the twofold end in view of developing the mind, and of affording that elementary knowledge which is a requisite preliminary to the successful prosecution of advanced work; the purpose of the other is to apply the mental discipline that has been acquired to such advanced work as will best fit the student for practical affairs.

However tenaciously we have insisted upon keeping up a more or less artificial barrier at the point of graduation, there has been an irresistible tendency, in a very large number of our most prominent colleges and universities, to place the real dividing line at the beginning of the junior year. While it cannot

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be claimed that there is uniformity of method or unanimity of opinion in regard to the introduction of elective work at this point, that there has been a movement in that direction, can, I think, hardly be disputed. In favor of this dividing line, moreover, there is much to be said. It will probably be admitted that at the end of the sophomore year our students are generally as well prepared to enter upon university work as European students are at the time of entering their universities. Our students know less of Latin and Greek than do the students of Germany; but they know more of mathematics, they have a larger general information, and they probably have a greater adaptability to such work as they may desire to pursue while in the university. Still more favorably would our students at the beginning of the junior year compare with the students of England and France at the time of entering upon their university course. The question suggested by this line of thought is whether it is not practicable to direct our students with the ultimate purpose of giving all the work before the end of the sophomore year to the colleges, and all the work after the sophomore year to the universities.

Of course such a sharp line of distinction cannot be established by direct legislation. It must be drawn, if at all, by natural tendencies. Is there any way in which, if it should seem desirable, such a current of tendencies can be established and encouraged? Before attempting to answer this question, it may be well to note that the chief advantages that have, from time immemorial, been claimed for the small college, appertain to that part of the work which is done early in the course; in other words, to that which is strictly collegiate. There is, and there will forever continue to be, something to be said in favor of any educational organization which, during the early years of the collegiate period, brings the students in small classes into direct and intimate personal contact with teachers of the best ability. On the other hand, as soon as the student has completed what may be called the collegiate branch of his education, he desires in the university branch opportunities of quite another kind. What he calls for is not simply instruction in language and literature, in history and political science, in the natural sciences and

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in political economy; he wants enough instruction in the particular subject he has chosen, to make him a specialist. If he is to be a lawyer, he wants history and political science—not in a mere smattering, but in such measure and quality as will enable him to understand how the roots of his profession have drawn its life out of the soil from which it has sprung. If he is to be a physician, he wants a knowledge of botany, chemistry, anatomy, and physiology; indeed, of all the biological sciences. If he is to be a clergyman, he needs to understand not simply the languages in which the Scriptures have been given to us, but the characteristics of the ancient civilizations, and the way in which civilizations have subsequently been developed and modified by religious forces. If he is to be a teacher, he wishes so completely to equip himself in some specialty that his exceptional fitness for some higher work will be recognized and sought. Now it cannot be said too often, or with too much emphasis, that the furnishing of such opportunities is the legitimate work of the university, and can never be that of the college.

But while this is the case, it is equally true that all of the required work is within the domain of the college and can never legitimately be elsewhere. In one case all the advantages of the smaller college, in the other all the advantages of the university, come into play. It is the most elementary and commonplace truism to say that so long as advanced and special work requires not only a large equipment in the way of apparatus, laboratories, museums, and libraries, but also a large and varied teaching force, so long the work of specialization can be carried on only by those institutions which have large means; in other words, by the universities. On the other hand, so long as the elementary work requires comparatively little material equipment in the way of apparatus, laboratories, museums, and libraries, the work can be quite as well done by the colleges as by the universities. Now, if the positions taken are correct, it follows that our young men and women, under an ideal system, would not be in the universities during the first two years, and would not be in the colleges during the last two. We are now prepared to ask whether there is not some way by which the masses of our students can avail themselves of these differing

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advantages. It must be granted that an abrupt and immediate bringing about of any such result is impossible. Beneficent changes are generally the result of tendencies, seldom the fruit of violence. But when we have a rational basis, when we see clearly the end to be attained, when we perceive the method of slowly but surely approaching a benign result, surely it is the part of wisdom to work definitely and persistently to the attainment of that end. How can it best be done?

First, all the unnecessary obstacles that tend to prevent students from going from the college to the university at the end of the sophomore year should be removed. I am persuaded that if half a dozen of our most prominent universities should boldly and without reserve announce that they would receive without examination students who had completed the sophomore year in any reputable college, the action would do more to bring about the desired result than any other one thing that could be done. Such action would at first undoubtedly be attended with some inconvenience. Occasionally a poor scholar would find his way out of the college into the university; but, if one may judge from history and from analogies, the embarrassments from these efforts would turn out to be less in practice than had been anticipated. No college is desirous of having its pupils discredit its early instruction by subsequent failure, and to prevent such a result every college would hold its students up to the standard. Admission by certificate has had this result upon the preparatory schools. For more than twenty years the most flourishing of the universities in the West has received students on certificate from approved schools and academies. During a shorter length of time students have been received in a similar manner at Cornell. For perfectly natural reasons the average standing of students so admitted is higher than the average standing of those admitted on examination. The result in this country thus far has been the same as the result of a similar movement in Germany. Formerly, as is well known, all candidates for admission to the German universities were examined at the universities themselves; but it was finally thought advisable to throw the responsibility of proper preparation upon the preparatory or intermediate schools, and one may state with confidence that no other one

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thing ever did so much to raise the standards of scholarship. The Germans learned from this experience that the way to elevate the standards of attainment is to exert pressure, not at the point of admission, but at the point of graduation. Accordingly, in the intermediate schools, as well as in the advanced ones, the Germans have for a long time adopted a liberal policy in the matter of admission. The same is true in England and in France.

It must not be forgotten, of course, that any new system, or any modification of an old system, is likely to be attended at first with certain embarrassments. But, regardless of embarrassments, we must strive for the greatest good. If large numbers could be drawn from the colleges to the universities at the end of the sophomore year, the good results that would accrue to scholarship in general would, in my opinion, far more than counterbalance all the accompanying annoyances.

In the second place, not only should the universities make the terms of admission easy, but they should adapt their work at once to the new conditions. Their third and fourth years should be so arranged as to afford specific preliminary training for each of the great professions. There would perhaps be differences of opinion as to whether it would be desirable to establish definite schools for the purpose of giving instruction in theology, law, medicine, and pedagogy; but whether this be done or not, all the courses should be given that are necessary for the most complete training in these several professions. It would probably be found advantageous to group them in such a way that the students of each group could easily see what studies are offered to them, and could naturally select and obtain what they want. The baccalaureate degree, as now, could be given at the end of the fourth year, reserving the higher degrees for professional work. If the co-ordination here outlined should finally become complete, it might be thought best to give the baccalaureate degree ultimately at the end of a modified collegiate course. For the present, the universities would probably find it necessary to continue to do the work of the first and second years substantially as at the present time. This should be carried on, however, with the definite purpose of ultimately giving it up entirely to the colleges.

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In the third place, as the universities should tend more and more to devote their strength to the third and fourth years, so the colleges should tend more and more to concentrate their efforts upon the work of the first and second years. The third and fourth years would doubtless for a time be continued for such students as might choose, without moving, to complete the course for the baccalaureate degree. But the college authorities would probably soon perceive the impossibility of competing successfully with the universities, and would adapt their plans to the ultimate abandonment of the effort. Meanwhile, the modified college course could easily be made one of three years, or even four, by admitting pupils at an earlier period than at present.

Another consideration must not be overlooked. No changes can be regarded as adequate to the requirements of the time that do not take cognizance of the position of our professional schools. To say that our schools of law and medicine are far from what they ought to be, is to say what every thoughtful observer knows and deplores. But the prime difficulty in the way of reform is, at present, the fact that in every class there are, sitting side by side, college graduates and men not fitted even to enter the freshman class of the undergraduate course. From this incongruous mass of students it is impossible to exact a long and comprehensive course of study. The graduate has already been so long at his books that he cannot withhold a much longer time from professional activity, and his ill-prepared classmate is often in haste to force an entrance into a profession at the earliest possible moment. The consequence is that the instruction can be adapted neither to the one class nor to the other. In view of these facts, it ought not to be regarded as singular that there is not in America to-day a single institution in which a student can obtain what in Europe would be looked upon as a good education in law or in medicine.

The method that has been suggested would afford opportunity for a radical and practicable change. The universities that agree to accept students at the end of the sophomore year should require the same preparation for admission to their professional schools. It is easy to see that if ten of the leading universities of the country should give notice that after the year 1894

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their schools of law and medicine would receive no students that should not have completed the sophomore year in some reputable college, the first step toward a great reform would be taken. The second step in this direction should be the announcement of a rule that no student could receive the professional degree in less than four years from the time of admission to the professional course of study. It is not difficult to find indications that the country is ready for a change of this kind. I believe it to be a great mistake to suppose that all, or even a majority, of our students are in precipitate haste to enter upon professional life. In Detroit, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, and Buffalo are to be found medical schools in which the degree of doctor of medicine is granted at the end of two terms of from four to eight months each. And yet in the small city of Ann Arbor, which is favored with no such clinical advantages as are afforded in a metropolis, more than 300 students are, at the present time, pursuing a medical course of four years.

The third step that should be taken, in this general plan for the benefit of professional education, is the adoption of a uniform custom in the matter of degrees. There are many reasons for thinking that it would be wise at the end of the second year of professional study to grant the baccalaureate degree as in other courses. In nearly or quite all of our universities, at the present time, the work of the third and fourth years is, for the most part at least, elective. Professional studies during the same length of time can hardly be regarded as less important. Such a degree, moreover, would have the advantage of putting all university students on the same footing; of giving to all students, after two years in college and two in the university, a baccalaureate degree; in short, of holding out to all successful work of equivalent grade the same university recognition.

If the measures of reform here outlined should be adopted, and should result as I have anticipated, we should ultimately have something like the following conditions: 1. All college students would finish the work of collegiate grade at the end of the sophomore year. 2. All students at the beginning of the junior year would enter upon professional courses, embracing law, medicine, theology, and all of the branches in which stu-

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dents might desire exceptional training. The baccalaureate degree would be given at the end of the second year of university work. At the end of the fourth year the student would receive the degrees of doctor of philosophy and master of arts, or any professional degree for which he might be prepared.

Now it is not difficult to anticipate some of the objections that will be offered to this method of reorganization. In the first place, it may be said that between the collegiate course in the college and the same course in the university, there is no such difference at the present time as to warrant the raising of the one and the lowering of the other. At first thought this would seem to be true; but close scrutiny will show that this absence of disparity is simply because both grades of institutions draw pupils from schools of the same class. In other words, it is by the low grade of preparation of its students that the university is prevented from doing the high grade of work for which it was organized and to which it could be easily adapted. At half a dozen or more American universities the material equipment for the higher grade of work is scarcely inferior to that which is found in the more famous universities of Europe. But from sheer necessity, the corps of instruction is kept, for the most part, at elementary work. If instruction of this elementary grade should be given by the colleges alone, the universities could then immediately devote themselves to that advanced work which would seem to lie within their legitimate scope.

The second objection is the anticipated unwillingness of the smaller colleges to take what may be regarded as subordinate positions. No doubt any college that sees even a faint hope of lifting itself into the rank of a university will hold to that hope with tenacity, and will strenuously resist any movement that will draw its students away at the end of the sophomore year. But a vast majority of colleges can entertain no such hope. Not only is this true, but it may be said that the only possibility of distinction, or even of adequate recognition, for most of them, is in a fair and open assumption of the duties of secondary institutions. In that position any one of our smaller colleges could do most creditable and honorable work, for which there is great and growing demand. But the work of a university they can

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never do, however strenuously their efforts may be put forth. The matter of expense is an insurmountable barrier. Our larger universities have incomes varying from $300,000 to $900,000 a year. No one will claim that the legitimate work of a university that is organized into various departments can be done for less. Much more is greatly needed. It is worse than useless, then, for an institution with not more than a fourth, or perhaps not more than a tenth, of that income, to assume the responsibility of trying to do essentially the same grade of work.

A third objection that suggests itself relates to what may be called the *vis inertiæ* of the American college student. When once he has established himself in favorable relations with his college, he is reluctant to move. At the end of the sophomore year the student sees new attractions before him. Learned professors of whom he has heard much, but of whom as yet he has perhaps seen comparatively little, beckon him on. Between him and his classmates have grown up ties of affection which would be hard to break or to resist. In a word, the college *esprit de corps* has laid hold of him, and in consequence the ties that bind him to the college where he has passed two years of his life so agreeably are not likely to be broken, in order to gain what, after all, may seem to him only an uncertain advantage. That these considerations would at first have some obstructive force cannot be denied; but it is not difficult to see that, under the conditions assumed, their force would grow less and less, as the advantages to be gained would grow to be more and more obvious. Let us suppose an example, to illustrate what would probably occur. Here is a college with a class, let us say, of 30 members. It becomes known among the students that at the end of the sophomore year they can go at will to any one of half a dozen universities. Would not the very fact that they could go lead them to scan the comparative advantages that are offered in the two grades of schools? One of two things would be very likely to take place. Either they would prefer and plan to go as a body to some one of the universities, or, more probably, they would divide into groups according to their tastes and friendships, and each group would go to the university of its choice. As at Exeter and Andover, or, if you please, at Eton

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and Rugby, boys of kindred tastes are likely to carry their friendly ties with them to Yale or Harvard, to Cambridge or Oxford, so it would ultimately be under the arrangement suggested. And thus the movement would undoubtedly have the result that, if the barriers to removal should be entirely swept away, a current from the colleges to the universities would be established, and thereafter there would be a constant and uninterrupted flow. As soon as this flow should be established, moreover, the universities would find their time and energies occupied with the upper classes, and would soon be in condition to commit the lower classes to the colleges, where they now belong. The colleges, in turn, could then, without embarrassment or mortification, close their upper classes, and at the same time receive students a year earlier, or, if they should think best, even two years earlier, than is done at the present time. When these results shall be reached, we shall find that we have established not only a number of real universities, but also, for the first time in America, a grade of secondary schools that are comparable with Eton and Rugby in England, with the *lycées* in France, and with the gymnasia and "real schools" in Germany.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS.

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WAS THE EMIN EXPEDITION PIRATICAL?

THE expedition for the rescue of Emin Pasha must always remain, so far as Mr. Stanley is concerned, one of the greatest feats of courage and endurance in the annals of adventure. No criticism of its objects or methods can dim its luster as an example of what fortitude can accomplish in the teeth of difficulties of nearly every description. It would be no small thing to make one's way across Africa on foot, without other concern than one's own capacity for supporting physical suffering and fatigue. But Mr. Stanley crossed Africa on foot at the head of a column of unwilling, half-hearted, uncivilized followers, for whom he had to supply all the necessary experience and forethought about food, and clothing, and arms, and ammunition, and health. He was the one man in his party who never could afford to be sick, or sorrowful, or discouraged, or doubtful. Whether in the presence of pestilence, or famine, or savage enemies, he had to maintain his *sang froid* many a time within what seemed a hair's breadth of ruin. No man could have passed unscathed through such an ordeal who had not the qualities, in the highest degree, of a born commander. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that no man of our time has borne with impunity such a strain on his *morale*. The reception which was given him in England on his return from his last expedition was, in truth, not beyond his deserts as a leader. His exploits touched the English imagination on the side on which it is most susceptible, for they recalled the memories of a century of English tenacity and pluck.

It seems necessary to say all this, not as a needed tribute to Mr. Stanley's fame, but to prevent possible misconception of the animus of some remarks that I am about to make as to the moral and legal aspects of the attempt to rescue Emin. Public attention would probably never have been directed to these aspects but for the quarrel between Stanley and his followers over the

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troubles of the "rear guard," as it was called. I do not purpose to enter into any discussion of that unhappy business. All discussion of it, even by the actors in it, seems unprofitable in the absence of some sort of judicial inquiry. The revelations about it in the newspapers and magazines have not only greatly diminished in the public eye, in both hemispheres, the splendor of Stanley's achievement, but have raised several questions, hitherto completely overlooked, relating to the legal status of his command, and consequently to the legality and morality of his method of rescuing Emin, or rather of searching for Emin. Many people in England are, in short, asking to-day whether the Emin expedition was not, strictly speaking, in the eye of public and municipal law, a piratical expedition.

That this question should not have been asked sooner, seems to be due to the peculiar view of central Africa which the more civilized communities have taken, time out of memory. No other portion of the globe, no matter how barbarous, seems to have been denied in the same degree the benefit of the "law of nature and of nations" under which the rest of the world began at a very early period to take shelter. It has long been set apart as the hunting ground for slave-traders, both by sea and by land. The notion of the Arab slave-dealers that Negroes are a species of *ferœ naturæ*, to be captured like elephants or other large game, has found a ready acceptance for centuries in nearly all the Christian states; and the slave trade rose, under its influence, into an important branch of commerce. Although the ocean slave trade has long been abolished and is now looked on with horror, the view of the Negro on which it was based has not died out; for there is undoubtedly to-day a widely-diffused feeling that civilized men, dealing with African Negroes in Africa, are not bound by the restraints which custom or legislation has prescribed for the protection of other uncivilized tribes and communities.

For instance, the right of any traveler who can provide himself with followers enough for the purpose, to make his way through any portion of Africa he pleases, in defiance of the native chiefs or rulers, and with as much use of force as may be necessary to overcome their resistance and to compel them to meet his requisitions for supplies and transportation, has, so far as I

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know, never been questioned until now, although it has never been asserted with regard to any other region inhabited by an agricultural population. That such things should be done in Africa has seemed quite natural to Christian, as well as to Mussulman, publicists and moralists, whether the object has been scientific exploration or simple sport. Yet, from what we have been hearing from the travelers of the last twenty-five years, it would appear that the Central Africans are by no means all in the lowest stage of civilization. They have, for the most part, passed out of the nomadic state. They have settled abodes, they live in villages, and they cultivate the soil. They have made considerable progress in some of the mechanical arts, such as iron-working and carpentry. They have rulers some of whom can bring a considerable armed force into the field, and who are recognized by European powers as capable of being bound by treaties. But none of these things avail them against the general Christian assumption that their territory is no man's land, and that it is open to anybody who likes to take the necessary risks to traverse it in any direction he pleases on his private account, and to live on it after the fashion of an army on the march in an enemy's country, if he cannot live in any other way.

The explanation of this view is not difficult, but no explanation of it is necessary for my present purpose. What I wish to point out is that Africa has been an exception to the general rule. Exploring expeditions, armed with fighting and foraging power, have in all other regions been expected to have a settled and organized government behind them; while in Africa all travelers and explorers have hitherto started on their own responsibility, and have enlisted soldiers and porters for their own service. The chief peculiarity of African travel is the difficulty of employing beasts of burden. Nearly everything that the traveler needs, including ammunition, has to be carried on men's heads or shoulders. The porters who are hired for this purpose, although they engage for long distances, generally do so with a secret determination to desert whenever they get tired or hungry. A certain number of "soldiers" is necessary, to keep guard over the porters, to force a passage through hostile principalities, and to compel the sale of the needed provisions.

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Food sufficient for large bodies of men cannot, of course, be carried. The baggage of explorers is principally made up of delicacies for themselves and of articles which attract the African fancy, such as brass rods, copper bracelets, bright-colored handkerchiefs, and beads, to be used as barter for food. The soldiers carry nothing but their arms, but they are apparently as ready as the porters to desert when they get a chance. As a rule, these parties are not large. Baker, when he started from Khartoum, had 25 men. Commander Cameron, who was the first to cross the continent from east to west, set out with 35; Schweinfurth with 70; Speke and Grant with 108; Stanley, on his first expedition in search of Livingstone, with 175 porters and 23 soldiers. After a few marches from the starting point, the troubles begin. The porters desert, abandoning their loads or carrying them off; or they sicken and die; or they openly mutiny. The soldiers do the same things. If the explorers are unable to overcome insubordination or to capture the runaways, they have to apply pressure to the local chiefs in order to procure fresh carriers. These fresh carriers are generally slaves, as, indeed, the original ones are in large part, and have no more interest in their work than slaves usually have. The difficulty of keeping the carriers and soldiers to their work supplies about half the contents of nearly every book of African travel. Considering the hardships and the great loss of life attending all these exploring journeys, the wonder is that any traveler has been able to reach his destination. When Stanley found Livingstone, the English explorer had been reduced to destitution and brought to a standstill by the desertion of his carriers. When Baker began his exploration of the upper Nile, he had to deal with a mutiny of his force of 45 uniformed soldiers within a few weeks after starting from Khartoum up the Nile. "They promised," he says, "fidelity and devotion; but a greater set of scoundrels in physiognomy I never encountered." Accordingly, when they reached Gondokoro and he proposed to give one of them twenty-five lashes for "insolence," they all mutinied and he had to fight for his life; and this was only the beginning of incessant trouble of the same sort. Commander Cameron had a like experience, but as he was less of a disciplinarian than Baker and more conciliа-

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tory in his temper, he fared better, and actually carried with him to the Atlantic some of the men who started with him.

All the travelers model their expeditions on those of the Arab slave-holders and ivory-dealers. They have the same array of soldiers and porters and the same modes of enforcing discipline, and all are generally supposed by the natives to be bent on the same errand; but of course the Europeans purchase supplies where they can, instead of always securing them by plunder. How far the Europeans go sometimes in copying the Arab ways, is curiously illustrated in Stanley's account of his expedition in search of Livingstone. The Arabs, when carrying away their booty after a raid, chain the slaves together by iron collars, as a precaution against flight. Stanley describes these chains, as seen in the first slave gang he met, as "ponderous; they might have held elephants captive."* But very soon afterward he procured a stout slave chain himself, with the usual iron collars for the neck, put it on his own deserters after they had been "well flogged," and made them march in it.† He even chained his head man, Bombay,‡ after flogging him for mutiny. When he reached Livingstone, he recommended to him the same expedients. In the last expedition, for the relief of Emin, in September, 1887, three of his men, who had deserted with their arms and ammunition, were captured and brought into his camp by a native chief. It appeared that they were all slaves, owned by people in Zanzibar and Yambuya, and therefore that they could not have had the smallest interest in the expedition, or more than a very slight sense of the immorality of desertion. But he sentenced all three to death, on successive days, and hanged one of them on the usual military plea that mercy toward deserters would endanger the success of the expedition, pardoning the other two on intercession. There was another execution of one of his own men for mutiny and desertion on the return march with Emin, after a formal trial by court-martial; and the penalty of death was constantly held, at the same period, over the heads of Emin Pasha's force as well as those of his own, as an aid to discipline and good order.

The most striking illustration, however, of the thoroughly

* "How I Found Livingstone," p. 104. † P. 318. ‡ P. 345.

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military character of Stanley's expedition, is to be found in his story of his fight with a tribe called the Baburesse, shortly before he reached Lake Albert. That these people had reached a considerable degree of civilization, his account of their territory shows. They were not simply naked savages. He says:

"Before descending into the valley of a streamlet flowing northward, we observed with wonder that the whole intervening space, as far as the mountains, was one mass of plantations indicative of a powerful population. . . . Resuming the march at 1 P.M., we entered the depths of banana plantations, marveling at the great industry evinced and the neatness of cultivated plots. The conical homesteads were large, and partitioned within, as we observed while passing through a few open doorways, by screens of cane grass. Every village was cleanly swept, as though they had been specially prepared for guests. Each banana stalk was loaded with bananas. The potato fields were extensive, and the millet fields stretched for miles away on either side, by hundreds of acres; and the many granaries that had been lately erected manifested expectations of a bountiful harvest. . . . A valley unfolded to our view as we rounded the corner of the Peak range, with a breadth of one or two miles wide, which was clothed with luxuriant sorghum ripening for the sickle. . . . To our left the ground, hidden by crops of grain, sloped gradually to a rapid branch of the East Ituri, and beyond it rose an easy slope to a broad horseshoe-shaped grassy ridge, studded with homesteads, green with millet and corn, and rich in banana groves. A sweeping view of our surroundings impressed us with the prosperity of the tribe."*

Now, this prosperous and industrious tribe, living in a country familiar by sight or hearsay with the raids of the Arab slave-traders, were naturally alarmed by the irruption of Stanley's armed band into their smiling fields, and rallied in great force to oppose his passage. They naturally refused to believe his stories of peaceable intent. His attempts to negotiate with them proved fruitless, and he then fought with them what may fairly be called a battle, killing a great many with his rifles, as they were armed only with bows and spears. From his account of the affair, it might have been one of the British fights in the Soudan. Skirmishers were thrown out, a *zereba* was formed, water was drawn and stored, and the riflemen under cover "seriously annoyed" the natives and "did execution" among them. A cow was "seized and cut up." That first night was an anxious one,

* "In Darkest Africa," vol. I., pp. 305–6.

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and Mr. Stanley read his Bible in his tent with some sinking of the heart. On the morrow Lieutenant Stairs forced the passage of the river, while Jephson "skirmished up the slope to the left and Uledi to the right." "The village was taken with a rush and the banana plantations scoured. The village was then fired, and the other settlements assaulted." "The Winchesters were worked most handsomely," but only one of Stanley's men was wounded. Finally,

"Not a hut was left standing in the valley around us to be a cover during the night. The lesson, we felt, was not completed. We should have to return by that route. In the natural course of things, if we met many tribes of this quality *en route*, we should lose many men, and if we left them in the least doubt of our ability to protect ourselves, we should have to repeat our day's work. It was therefore far more merciful to finish the affair thoroughly before leaving a tribe in unwhipped insolence in our rear." *

Now this is a most pitiful story of slaughter and devastation among, it would appear, an industrious and peaceful people. But nobody can blame Mr. Stanley for fighting a battle under the circumstances. In the situation in which he found himself, there was no other mode of self-preservation. We have cited it at some length as a specimen of the kind of work in which he was engaged, at greater or less intervals, during the whole expedition. He was, in fact, conducting an organized military force through an enemy's country. He had to flog or hang his own men to maintain discipline. He had to shoot the inhabitants and to pillage and burn their villages in order to protect himself against treachery and to supply himself with provisions. As I have said, when he was fairly launched on his march, self-preservation became his first law; but the question still remains to be answered, Who sent him on his march? From whom did he get authority to begin the series of military operations that ended in depositing Emin Pasha at Zanzibar? Under whose order did he enlist troops, and exercise among the Africans the power of a general in the field? If his commission was what it ought to have been, he was really entitled under it to shoot and hang the white men of his command as well as the black ones.

Mr. Stanley gives us in his "Introductory Chapter" all the

* "In Darkest Africa," vol. I., pp. 315–16.

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answers we need to these questions. The pity excited in England by General Gordon's unhappy fate at Khartoum—pity, I am afraid, which had, among certain classes, a large mixture of hatred for Gladstone in it—ended in pity for Emin Pasha. Emin was a German doctor who was governor of the Equatorial Province under the Khédive of Egypt, and who was by the capture of Khartoum cut off from the civilized world somewhere near Lake Albert. Very little was known about him, as the result proved, or about his condition and prospects. But the British imagination, working on the Gordon legend, pictured him very soon as a hero in great distress, fighting, with a small band of faithful followers, to keep alive the lamp of civilization in darkest Africa, and likely, sooner or later, unless rescued, to share Gordon's fate. If all this had been true, the duty of rescuing him devolved on one of two powers—on Great Britain, as the assignee in the bankruptcy of the Egyptian government, charged voluntarily with administration of its finances and with the protection of its southern frontiers against the Mahdi; or on Egypt, as the employer of Emin, and the power to which he was responsible, if he was responsible to any power.

It was soon ascertained, however, that neither of them was willing to do anything in the matter. The Khédive could not move without British consent, and the British had the expedition to rescue Gordon too fresh in their memory to be willing to make or to authorize another invasion of the Soudan for any similar purpose. The alternative was to allow some one to raise a force at private cost and risk, and to give the commander either an Egyptian or a British commission. What actually came to pass, however, was the raising of £11,500 by ten private individuals, mostly philanthropists. To this amount the Royal Geographical Society added £1,000 and the Egyptian government £10,000, which, as far as this last was concerned, was certainly cheap for the rescue of a governor and his troops. These gentlemen, all unknown to fame, then formed themselves into a committee, to which they gave the name of the "Emin Relief Committee," and sent Stanley to Africa, armed with such power as they had themselves, to raise and equip troops, to invade hostile territory, and to do as much fighting as might be neces-

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sary for the rescue of Emin. I need hardly say that they had no such power themselves, and therefore that they had no power to delegate to Stanley. The general public did not take the smallest interest in the scheme, for it knew nothing about Emin, and had had enough of Soudanese warfare. The British government refused, it would appear, to have anything to do with the plan. An application made to the Admiralty for transportation to the Congo was curtly refused. The King of the Belgians, as the head of the Congo Free State, encouraged the expedition so far as to lend Stanley to head it—Stanley being already in the service of the Congo Free State—and also to lend one or two steamers on the upper Congo; but he made it a condition that the expedition should start from the western coast, instead of from Zanzibar, which compelled Stanley to change his plans.

When Stanley reached Egypt, all he obtained from the Khédive's government, besides the subscription of £10,000, was permission to use the Egyptian flag, and a letter of credence to Emin Pasha, requiring the Pasha to come home with Stanley, if he should come at all, but allowing him to stay where he was if he chose. Nubar Pasha, the prime minister, being of a frugal mind, stipulated also that in case Emin had any ivory—and it was rumored that he had a great deal—the Egyptian government was to have a share of it, in consideration of the advance of £10,000. The expedition was thus, in all respects, a private enterprise. There was not a shadow of authority in the hands of any one connected with it, to raise troops, to inflict capital or other corporal punishment on persons in its service, to make war on foreign soil, to levy supplies by force, or to purchase, hold, or employ slaves; yet all these things were done by Stanley or by some of his subordinates.

Of his thoroughly military relations to these subordinates, he gave a curiously frank account in an interview with the correspondent of the London "Times," in New York City on November 6, 1890. Speaking of the censure that he had passed on the officers of the rear guard, he said:

"It is absolutely immaterial to me what view the people take of this censure, as I had enlisted all these men as my officers, and it was only to me that they owed loyalty and obedience according to their contracts. I alone am justified in reserving the right to condemn or to award praise."

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The contract with Tippu Tib to supply 600 carriers for the rear guard, which Tippu failed to carry out, was, as a matter of fact, a contract with the greatest slave-trader in western Africa. The carriers that Tippu did eventually furnish were undoubtedly slaves. A Belgian army officer, Lieutenant Albert Baert, a friend of Major Barttelot, testifying in his behalf, says that he met the Major at Stanley Falls, whither he had come from his camp at Yambuya, to try "to procure chains for the deserters he might capture, being very much annoyed at the numerous desertions among his porters." These chains were, of course, the slave chains with iron collars of which I have already spoken, and they were seldom or never put on a deserter without giving him a flogging. Part of the payment to Tippu Tib, too, was "fifty cases of gunpowder" and "as many cases of fixed ammunition, Remington rifles, elephant guns, and revolvers,"* which, it was well known, he would use in his slave-hunting expeditions.

In his final interview with Emin at Zanzibar, in December, 1889, Mr. Stanley put down the loss of life in his own force up to that date at 300. It is certainly not an exaggeration to estimate the loss he inflicted on hostile natives in his various encounters at double that number, or 600. Taking everything into account, I have no doubt that the total cost of the expedition in human life was 1,000; and the destruction of native property, through forced contributions and military marauding and devastation, must have been enormous, although there are no means of estimating it. Bonny, one of Stanley's officers, admits that he captured women and children to compel the tribe to which they belonged to supply the party with food. When Stanley reached Emin Pasha he found Emin uncertain whether he wished to leave Equatoria or not, and by no means grateful for the sacrifices made on his behalf; and found his officers and men to be the very dregs of the old Egyptian army, treacherous, cowardly, insubordinate, and guilty of a conspiracy to rob and murder the rescuing force on the way home. But these facts do not prove anything to the discredit of the expedition. The worthlessness of Emin's men does not show that the efforts made on their behalf were illegitimate or ill-judged, but it does show

* "In Darkest Africa," vol. II., p. 477.

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that the enterprise was begun with a culpably small amount of information about the matter in hand. There can be no question, judging from Mr. Stanley's account of Emin and his men, that had even half of what he found out about them been known in London three months, or even two months, before he started, the "Emin Relief Committee" would never have been organized, and Emin and his ragamuffin army would have been left to get out of their scrape as best they could. What prevented preliminary inquiry was undoubtedly the Gordon legend, which surrounded with an heroic halo every European shut up in the Soudan.

Of the illegality of the enterprise under the municipal law of England, there can be little question. To that law Mr. Stanley, as an American citizen, is not amenable; but his subordinates have undoubtedly, in the absence of commissions from an established government, exposed themselves to prosecution under what is known as the "Slave-trading Act,"* which makes the owning of slaves or the dealing in them a felony in a British subject; and also under the act† which makes punishable in England "any murder or manslaughter committed by a British subject on land on any person anywhere outside the Queen's dominions." It is difficult to see why the executions carried out by the officers of the rear guard are not justiciable under this statute, and why it does not even cover the case of the natives killed "in action" when defending their homes. If so, the expedition was distinctly piratical. The connivance of the English and Egyptian governments may of course be pleaded in palliation, and so may the earlier promoters' ignorance of the shape the expedition would finally take. Their blunder as to its military character is one of the most curious features of the affair.

One of the gravest objections even to expeditions which, though technically piratical, are morally excusable, lies in the fact that the chief, whoever he may be, is responsible to nobody, and therefore reports to nobody; so that when a dispute arises over the conduct of any of the actors, there is no proper way of ascertaining the truth or of distributing the blame. Every lawful military enterprise has a government behind it to which the officers are accountable, to which they are obliged to make care-

* 5 and 6 George IV., chapter 113. †24 and 25 Victoria, chapter 100.

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ful reports, and by which they are punishable in case of negligence, disobedience, or of the violation of any of the usages of civilized warfare. The fact that Stanley has no one to report to, except himself, and that no judicial machinery now exists for the investigation of the charges which he brings against his officers of the rear guard, in truth goes far to fix the character of his operations in central Africa. Both he and some of his subordinates have sold reports to the book-publishers and to magazines, each giving his own version of the occurrences in which he participated; but these reports should have been made to some competent authority. Under these circumstances it seems extremely difficult to get at the truth. At a meeting in London the other day, of the Aborigines Protection Society, to consider this matter, the chairman proposed that Stanley should bring a libel suit against somebody in order to secure a judicial inquiry; but Mr. Stanley has apparently no intention of doing anything of the kind, and there is no way to compel him. Mr. Frederic Harrison, who was present, suggested, as a first step, that a legal opinion should be obtained on the question whether the Stanley expedition was not "an illegal military expedition against a friendly people, and an illegal assumption of military authority.' He further held that the members of it had brought themselves within the purview of the Slave-trading Act, and were indictable. That this question would be answered in the affirmative by competent legal authority, is most likely, and if it were, it is difficult to see how the British government could, in the interest of its own dignity, if not in that of humanity, avoid taking some steps to bring the offenders to justice. Neither philanthropists nor explorers ought to be allowed to engage in military ventures, no matter how laudable the object, without far greater care than marked the inception of the Emin expedition, particularly when such ventures are likely to be attended with loss of life, damage to property, and the presentation of civilization and Christianity to barbarians in an odious or fearful light.

E. L. Godkin.

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THE PHYSICAL BASIS OF MIND.

THE birth and resurrection of the founder of the Christian religion were miracles so entirely contrary to the order of nature, as it had been known before his coming, as it was known then to the observation of all save a few witnesses of them, and as it has been known since through all the world, that they stand apart from all other events—unique, transcendent, supernatural. Belonging to a separate and special order of things, they need and exact a separate and special way of belief; their appeal is to other faculties than those faculties of observation and reason which serve for all other human knowledge, but which they contradict absolutely. They do not enter the mind through the understanding as natural truths, but through the heart as divine truths. Since they are matters of faith and feeling, reason is impotent to conclude anything in respect of them; they are to it foolishness; its true function there is to disavow its function. He who would attain the right mood of heart and mind to believe firmly, must resolutely curb the pride of intellect and coerce reason even to its stultification. So by being a fool in wisdom, he will be wise in faith in those things which were hidden from the wise and revealed unto babes; which were scorned by scribes, lawyers, and Pharisees, but received gladly by a few poor fishermen drawn from the dregs of the people.

The two distinct ways of belief have nowhere been set forth with more lucid precision, with more thorough comprehension, or with firmer logic, than by the illustrious Pascal, whose main principles have been adopted and followed by Cardinal Newman in his subtile and elaborate "Grammar of Assent." With these great writers there is no confused compromise or warring struggle of reason and faith in matters of revelation; no half-thought principles and timid shrinkings from logical conclusions; no dim and vague region of thought in which one person or one sect of persons may, according to particular prejudice,

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passion, or pleasure, take what suits and leave what suits not, welcoming one miracle and rejecting another, exalting this doctrine and ignoring that, interpreting this passage metaphorically and the next literally; no Christianity of the future, emptied of those signs and wonders which are its seals and credentials—in sum, no destruction of a real principle of authority in religion by the consecration of license and anarchy under the liberty of private intuition or judgment. To them it was clear as noonday that there was no stable ground between absolute faith and absolute infidelity, all intermediate states of belief being unstable creeds of passage to one goal or the other. "There is no medium in true philosophy between atheism and Catholicism."*

Without being of Cardinal Newman's faith, an impartial observer might well see reason to believe the dangerous foe of religion not to be the open adversary, but the unwitting enemy in the camp, who with might and main strives to rationalize it, hiding from himself meanwhile, under fervid outbursts of hazy sentiment and vague eloquence, his own insincerities and confusion of thought, and the real drift of the work which he is doing. Pleased with his particular interpretation because it is his, however small his exegetical capacity, he cares not to eliminate from his achievements the large effect due to the play of self-love; on the contrary, in the special thrills of its delirious delight he feels and finds the particular inspirations of conscience. Pascal and Newman, having the minds they had, could hardly have remained Christian had they not found a surer and stronger principle of authority than in the vagaries and confusions, the prejudices and self-deceptions, the sentiments and aspirations of the individual mind, with its shifting moods and judgments subject to every passing bodily change. They found it in the infallible voice of the Church, which, having a continuity of existence from the apostles, claims to be the true depository and interpreter of Christian traditions and doctrines, and makes the bold boast, "*Securus judicat orbis terrarum.*" It was this declaration which dominated and decided Newman; which, as he says, "kept ringing in my ears—*Securus judicat orbis terrarum!* By these great words of the ancient father, interpreting and summing up the

* Newman's "Apologia," 3d edition, p. 198.

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long and varied course of ecclesiastical history, the theory of a *via media* was absolutely pulverized."

It is the more necessary to mark distinctly the bounds of faith's domain, and to defend its inviolability, because the advances of modern science and criticism tend to weaken the evidences of supernatural revelation and to throw doubt on them. Instead of growing stronger with the discoveries of science and needing less defense as the light of knowledge grows brighter, they need and obtain more defense, just as if they were old works of human contrivance and infirmity. Of the age generally, it is not too much to say that it is inclined to believe less as it knows more, notwithstanding the eminent examples which may be cited of the union of great intellect and childlike faith. This "one singular achievement" has lately been claimed for Newman, in a mortuary eulogy by his friend Cardinal Manning: "No one who does not intend to be laughed at will henceforward say that the Catholic religion is fit only for weak intellects and unmanly brains. This superstition of pride is over." The assertion, were it ever made, would be reckless and rash at any time; to be matched only by Carlyle's gross description of Newman as possessing "the brain of a medium-sized rabbit." Many eminent examples prove that a person of great intellect may believe all the miracles and doctrines of the Christian religion. Nay, we are bound to go further, and to acknowledge that such a one may, as Newman did, and as no doubt Cardinal Manning does, assent to the evidence of the liquefaction of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples; firmly believe that portions of the true cross are at Rome and elsewhere, and that the relics of saints have done many miracles; and as firmly believe that "before now saints have raised the dead to life, crossed the sea without vessels, multiplied grain and bread, cured innumerable diseases, and stopped the operations of the laws of the universe in a multitude of ways."

In drawing from the co-existence of faith and intellect the inference which was to his purpose, Cardinal Manning has not been concerned to bring into view the relations between them which are rigidly ordained to be observed by pious believers. The wisdom of knowledge is not the wisdom of faith, a weak intel-

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lect being perhaps singularly strong in faith and a strong intellect weak in faith. The prescribed function of reason is to efface itself in matters of faith; their express design was to destroy the wisdom of the wise and to bring to naught the understanding of the learned; therefore men like Pascal and Newman have made it their aim and joy to be of "weak intellect" in such matters. That was the glory of their faith, as it was the glory of the Apostle Paul, who expressly declares that God has chosen the foolish things of this world, that it has pleased God by foolishness to save the world, and that it is necessary to become a fool in order to be wise. In such case a strong intellect shows its strength by knowing when to run away from itself. The fuller conclusion to be drawn from the fact on which the Cardinal lays stress, is that a man may so train his mind, if he sets himself with resolute intent and bent to do so, as to have two mental areas, separate and without interchange of function, which he can exercise independently. He may believe all the fables of the Koran, and be at the same time a clever diplomatist and a sagacious statesman. The two mental areas correspond to the two orders of events, the natural and the supernatural, with which his experience is concerned; and they are entered on by two entirely different ways of belief—the way of understanding and the way of inner feeling and faith. On such terms of mental divisibility he becomes practically two different persons on different occasions, according as the circumstances require, and as they solicit this or that phase of him. How this happens, despite all metaphysical theory of the unity of mind, would be better understood if mind should be studied less abstractly, and more close thought given to understanding the physical structure and manner of development of its organic mechanism.

What is that structure? The key of its construction and function is the mechanism of what physiologists know as a simple reflex or excito-motor act; that is to say, an act of the same kind as those which a person performs when he sighs, coughs, sneezes, swallows, or winks, or as that which a butterfly does when it procreates after its head has been cut off. The type of the mechanism is, first, a sensory or so-called afferent nerve, along which, in response to an impression made on its endings from

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without, an ingoing current passes to a central nerve cell; and, secondly, a motor or efferent nerve, going from the cell, along which the outgoing current passes to the muscles that react upon the outer world. That is the simple nervous structure by which a message is received from without and by which fit reaction is made thereto. Practically it is the entire nervous system of the lowest creature which possesses one, and it is the basis of the more complex structures that subserve the adjustments of higher creatures to their environments; for out of such simple factors, by multiplication of cells and fibers and by complication of their tracts and connections, the complex structure is built up.

In this mode of complication, several ingoing currents, that proceed from differentiated sensory endings, are associated by means of central nerve cells and their connections, and are distributed thence along several tracks or lines of conduction. In the complex network or plexus thus formed by the junctions of cells and by the multiplication of their connecting fibers on the same level, are the obvious means of many fit distributions of energy and of different combinations of distributions. Higher in the scale of animal organization we find a further complication of different levels of plexuses—the superposition of areas of higher level of reflex action, with which areas of lower level are connected. Here are the obvious means by which pregnant impulses may pass from the higher areas of the nervous hierarchy to different subordinate centers, whence they may be suitably distributed. Considering that there are some hundreds of millions of nerve cells in the cerebral cortex of man, that every cell has its connection or connections there, and that every one of the multitude of fibers goes separate to its destination, we may perhaps go some way toward realizing in imagination how exceedingly fine, numerous, complex, and intricate are the nervous networks which constitute the mental organization. There are thus abundant means of physical reflection to serve all the purposes of mental reflection.

As the mechanism of a simple reflex act is the elemental type of the complex mental structure, so the simple reflex act is the elemental type of the complex mental function. Just as the simple reflex act represents fit adjustment of action to impres-

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sion, either for receiving the stimulus when it is agreeable and useful, or for repelling and evading it when it is painful and hurtful—being essentially purposive, though unconscious—so the complex mental function represents, in abstract representations, the greatest number of the fittest movements in answer to the greatest number of the fittest impressions. These representative functions of the highest nervous levels constitute our mental apprehensions or ideas; they represent and subserve the guidance of desire by experience, and, being thus consciously purposive, are essentially acts of reason. Still, they are based upon reflex acts, are built up of them, and are themselves essentially reflex. Every immediate perception or apprehension, instant and instinctive as it appears, is just as much an inference as any act of judgment which we perform deliberately; at bottom it means gradually-learnt special muscular adaptation to special sensory impression. But because the process began with life and has gone on continually through it, its steps have lapsed in consciousness, and the apprehension, which had to be tediously acquired, has come to seem immediate. In like manner a simple act of reason, by which, given the premises, the conclusion follows inevitably in every soundly-constituted mind, is just as necessary a reflex act or effect as is the infant's sucking when the nipple is put between its lips. Both acts are automatic, if we choose that descriptive term; in the one case with consciousness, in the other without it. They are both acts of reason, if we prefer that descriptive term; the one of explicit, the other of implicit, reason. The actual processes are of the same nature, however we choose to name them.

No doubt some will argue that consciousness makes a vast difference, and that its presence raises the functions into another and higher order of events. But the main force of that argument lies in the traditional misconception of what consciousness is, and of what it does in mental functions. It does not perform these; it only illuminates them. It is not the actual energy at work in them; they proceed and it attends, so to speak. We are never conscious of a mental state until the state is; consciousness of it does not anticipate or dictate or execute it, but comes into existence with its accomplishment. Moreover, we

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may be certain that when we have done an act a thousand times, whether an act of bodily skill or an act of reason, we can do it as well without consciousness as with it; many times, indeed, a great deal better. Like a perception, the judgment is then instantaneous and instinctive, the steps of its process having lapsed. The truth is that we are the useful machines we are in the work of life, only because the great majority of our ordinary acts and judgments have been rendered automatic and unconscious. Consciousness accompanies imperfect adaptation, tentative endeavors, the practice of means to ends, the development of reason; it lapses when skill is perfect. If an angry wasp stings instantly with perfect art and skill, it does so because perfecting practice through the ages has been embodied in a most fit mechanism, by a process of extinction of the wasps that did not succeed well and by a survival of those that did. The wasp now does not need to remember how to sting, because its memory is so complete as to be unconscious. In like manner, if a man is an instinctive liar or thief, or if he is a born poet, as the true poet must be, he is so because the fit nervous structure has been infixed in his constitution by a sort of prevenient grace; that is, by the ancestral exercise of a predisposing function before he was even begotten. All the pains and practice in the world will not make a great criminal out of a person who entirely lacks criminal proclivities, any more than they will make a great poet out of one who toils and moils painfully to manufacture consciously the inspiration which is not in him. Great artist of his kind will neither of them ever be. Virtue itself is not safely lodged until it has become a habit and until its exercise is a pleasure. So long as it is conscious it is not ingrained in character, and the more conscious it is the more dubious it is. Not entirely wholesome and edifying is the story which Gregory tells of St. Austin, that he was so virtuous that he could not bear to live in the same house with his sister. Perhaps when man has got so far in adaptation to the conditions, physical and social, of his surroundings, as to be in full and exact harmony with them, he will be nearly or completely unconscious; at any rate, he will be bent on using and losing his consciousness in objective work, and haply free from sickly displays of self-consciousness.

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The difference in structure and form between the simple nervous system of a creature low in the scale of organization and the complex nervous system of one high in that scale, is the form, measure, and means of the difference between the few, simple, and general reflex acts of which the one is capable, and the many complex and special relations with external nature in which the other lives. The progressive development of the nervous system has gone along with the progressive increase and specialization of these relations; its formal structure in each species incorporates the accumulated experience of the species in its progressive adjustments to its surroundings; accordingly it displays explicitly, when it functions, that which it contains implicitly. Necessarily, then, the specific nature of an organism limits and determines the number and kind of its relations to the external world, and renders it incapable of the special responses thereto of a differently-constituted organism. The world of a tiger and the world of a tiger-moth are two entirely different worlds, one almost non-existent to the other; and the eternal truths of the wisest monkey's mind are very different from the eternal truths of a human philosopher, little as both may signify in the world's long run. The very limited relations of living creatures to the universe might be likened to the different graduations of the thermometrical scale; one scale is divided into more and another sort into fewer degrees, but in every case, whatever its length and the number of its divisions, there is an ungraduated infinity below the lowest degree and an ungraduated infinity above the highest. We need not doubt the existence of the unknowable; it is the value of the knowable which rightly is in question.

Human minds do not differ in knowledge as two kinds of animals differ in structure. Still they do differ greatly, and such differences go along with differences in the complexity of the structure of the cerebral cortex. That its nervous plexuses are fewer and simpler in the brain of one person than in that of another at the same level of civilization, cannot be said positively, since it is impossible to make the numberless nice countings and measurings necessary to be sure of it; but they are fewer and more simple in the brains of low savages than in the brains of the

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highest races of men. This superiority of structure is the past embodiment of a superiority of function that has been acquired from age to age, and it is the present substratum of the superior functions which the higher brain performs. The result is that no amount of education, even were it begun from the first moment of life and continued to the last, would avail to raise the low savage, who lacks the physical substrata of the higher faculties, to the level of an average civilized person who possesses them. The former is under a natural defect like that which the latter exhibits accidentally when he is the result of a morbid degeneration of kind, and when, sunk to a congenital imbecility or idiocy by reason of defective nervous plexuses, he is more utterly incapable of ordinary intellectual and moral culture than the low savage. At the beginning of the process of mental development and at the end of the process of mental degeneration—the initial and final terms of evolution and dissolution—we discover clear evidence of structural defects which, though inferred with certainty, are not patent in the intermediate stages.

Not that the defects in such case must always be actually missing cells and fibers; these might be there in full quantity, and yet be unfit to subserve the proper faculties, owing to absence or to fault of the fine connecting processes. Manifestly the cortical plexuses do not all act together, and do not act at random, when they discharge the several functions of mind, any more than the muscles do when they perform special bodily movements. Definite combinations of nerve tracks are formed to serve the different requirements of sensory impression and motor reaction; and these forms or patterns of associated tracks are more or less transitory or permanent, according as they minister to temporary needs or to fixed habits of function. Most minds show some special proclivities or aptitudes, and some minds show notable aptitudes; that is to say, in some brains certain associations of tracks, ready-formed or easily formed, constitute natural endowments of structure. In this way perhaps a fixed mental habit of ancestors endows the offspring with a proclivity and aptitude to the exercise of some particular function, an association framed in the past for a temporary purpose having been so fixed by habit of exercise as to become an inherited aptitude or instinct.

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In the varying firmness of such an organized tract of thought lies the explanation of the effects or non-effects of education to undo it. It may be so firmly set that systematic training to a new order of functions will not permanently dissolve it, the proclivity to fall into the old form being irresistible; or it may be so loosely fixed that another kind of training than that to which it owed its formation easily breaks it up and uses its component parts for the organization of other forms. In the latter case education and training may do much to mold mental formation; in the former they can do little to change the laid-down lines of function into which the mind is destined to grow in maturity. In any case the most hopeful way to modify the inherited aptitudes is to transplant the individual into entirely different circumstances from those in which the parents lived and in which he was born. So, perchance, a new order of impressions, soliciting a new order of reactions, will dissolve old combinations and frame new ones, and effect by degrees a change of internal organization. To have an insane inheritance, and to be brought up by those who bestowed it, is to be twice penalized.

When no strong innate proclivities exist, still more when training is specially adapted to foster such as do exist, then a mind may be molded to almost any pattern of thought and feeling that is wished, provided that exclusive training be begun early enough and be steadily enforced long enough. Get exclusive hold of it from its first dawn, subject it systematically to a special class of impressions and to an answering set of reactions, insulate it as much as possible from all conflicting or distracting impressions, and exercise it continually in the way in which it is desired it should think and feel—the certain physical result is the formation of a mental organization which shall discharge that function and shall take pleasure in discharging it, which shall function in one sort of belief and practice in one country and in another sort of belief and practice in another country, and which always shall resent and recoil from any alien function. To ask a person so manipulated, trained, and manufactured to a set form of mental growth, which is protected and kept up by a set environment, to observe, to reflect, and to judge in matters that lie outside his range of mental functions, is much like asking one spe-

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cies of organism to have the sensibilities and to perform the acts of another species. How can a Mussulman who has been taught to spell the Koran, to read the Koran, to write the Koran, and to recite the Koran, as his one school lesson, and to believe that nothing is true outside the Koran, and whose ancestors for ten centuries have undergone the same training, have sympathy of feeling and thought, real community of mental nature, with a Christian, or do otherwise than loathe, hate, and despise him? The two belong to the same animal species, but they are virtually of different mental kinds. But why multiply instances? There is not an inconsistency or contradiction of which human nature is not capable; not a folly of belief or an absurdity of practice which has not been cherished by some people or other at some period or other of human history.

Having a good hold of the principle of the reflex structure and function of the brain, we can easily understand how such mental moldings are effected, and how, indeed, they cannot fail to be effected when they are resolutely put in hand and carried through. Tradition, education, conventions, and custom will do the work surely. Individual minds that go astray in development yield abundant illustrations of a like process of mental warping into positive distortion or deformity. Although it is customary to speak of insanity as disease, it is not always disease in the strict sense of the word; many times it is rather of the nature of deformity. A mind may be molded into madness by nature and circumstances as well as distracted into it by disease. When an exaggerated egoism, inspired by a particular passion, such as jealousy, suspicion, or pride, takes all impressions and turns them to its nurture and nature, it grows at last so far out of all proportion and congruity as to be actual madness; it becomes an insane delusion which, absorbing and holding a certain area of mind, destroys its unity. The individual is a twofold personality according as he is under the sway of the sound tracts of thought or of the unsound ones; his mental organization has been so formed by the continual exercise and nurture of certain tracts of it that these have strengthened and grown to a predominant power, and it is now practically deformed. Full of instruction is the whole class of derangements

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thus produced, but I cite them here only in exemplification of the positive division or disintegration which mind may suffer.

Those who spin mental philosophy out of their own heads, have been brought with difficulty to entertain even a sincere suspicion that mind suffers all sorts of disintegrations. Old writers on mental pathology described striking cases of twofold personality or double consciousness and the like; but the instructive instances were ignored by those who, prepossessed with the dogma of the unity and indivisibility of consciousness, were blind to their bearings on philosophy. Now, however, the phenomena of hypnotism, which are the old phenomena of mesmerism under a different name, are attracting much notice and are provoking special study of such states. Viewing them from the standpoint of the reflex structure of the mental organization, what may we suppose to take place when a person is put into the hypnotic state in which, machine-like, he is governed by the suggestions of the operator, touching, tasting, seeing, hearing, thinking, and doing as his master bids him? By the special suggestions made forcibly to him, the fit tracts of his brain are put into an extraordinary activity, while the remaining tracts are inhibited, or, so to speak, blocked. Thereupon he must apprehend or perceive as he has been made to think, must receive and translate every impression on sense into the language of the active idea, and shape it into the features of that idea, or else show no consciousness of it at all. He cannot possibly perceive in the language of ideas that are entirely inactive. The one active cerebral tract is virtually the whole and sole mind which he then has, and to obey it in sense and act is a compulsive necessity. For the time he is as effectually precluded from true observation of facts and from reflection on them, as truly barred from full mental contact with things, as if he had been educated through life to exercise that tract and none other. The condition is an artificial insanity; the operator doing for him what disease does when it produces a dominating delusion, congruent hallucinations, and conformable conduct.

That there are people who find something more than natural function in hypnotic phenomena is just what might be expected. Abnormal nervous seizures have always excited wonder and

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awe; so much so that they were commonly ascribed to supernatural causes before they were understood. The convulsions of epilepsy were the work of the god who had taken violent possession of the body; the incoherent words and inarticulate sounds of delirium were divine oracles which it was the prophet's business to interpret; the ecstasy or trance of hysteria was the rapture of a supernatural influx. Even if it should prove true that a vivid hypnotic suggestion may sometimes, by concentration of nerve-energy along special paths of distribution, help to cure disease or to cause it—to heal by faith or kill by faith—other than natural causes need not be invoked in explanation. The just inference from past experience and from present knowledge is in the opposite direction—to look for natural causes and their laws of action. It is always possible for a person of unstable nervous temperament, natural or acquired, by special culture, strain, and practice, to gain a power of self-hypnotizing; and when the Australian native doctor, or the Turanian sharman, or a fanatical devotee of other sort throws himself into a deep trance and in it visits the world of spirits, his ecstasy is an effect and example of self-hypnotism—an ordinary pathological, not an extraordinary spiritual, process.

HENRY MAUDSLEY

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BOWDLERIZED BIOGRAPHY.

THE late Thomas Bowdler, F.R.S., gained distinction as the editor of "The Family Shakespeare," first published in 1818, in which "nothing is added to the original text, but those words and expressions are omitted which cannot with propriety be read aloud in a family." Encouraged by his success, he afterward produced a "Family Gibbon," "reprinted from the original text, with the careful omission of all passages of an irreligious or immoral tendency." Against books expressly designed for family reading, not a word is to be said; but Shakespeare wrote for no such purpose. His dramas, after the editing of Mr. Bowdler, may indeed be free from blemish, but, strictly speaking, they are his no longer; while Gibbon, after everything that Mr. Bowdler thought irreligious or immoral has been expunged, is more Bowdler than Gibbon. I have never seen a copy of "The Family Shakespeare" in any private house, but as the publishers keep it in print, I suppose there is still some demand for it. The estimable editor himself has become typical; his name gives an expressive word to the language, and the spirit in which he pursued his labors has continued to manifest itself, increasingly I think, down to the present day.

This is notably the case in the acts of certain self-constituted guardians of human morals, who, for purposes of their own, write what they term "biographies." Where virtue is preached, the practice of it is too often lax. Gambling, and mendicancy, and the incurring of debts are severely condemned in things secular; but they are condoned, if not actually approved, when a church is to be endowed or a missionary to be sent to China. The authors of biographies which are meant to be moral and religious in their tendencies, are not scrupulous as to the means they employ to secure their ends. They pervert biography, as they also pervert fiction, from its legitimate function, to serve ulterior objects of their own. If the man or woman whose story

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they have chosen to tell does not, in his behavior, accord with the lesson they wish to enforce, they do not hesitate to omit, to alter, and even to invent. They produce the history of a life, not as it was actually lived, but as they think best for the world to suppose it was lived; and, to give weight to their narrative, they label it with the name of Newton, or Oberlin, or Luther, or Mrs. Elizabeth Fry. Other persons there are whose interest is not so much in public morals as in the reputation of certain heroes. They do not believe, with Montaigne, that "all actions equally become and equally honor a wise man." They fear that some of the actions of their favorite wise men may fail to stand the test of public criticism and, to the eyes of the world at least, seem unbecoming. Shall these heroes be exposed to public scorn? No! The doubtful facts must be suppressed. These great men's lives are edited for family reading in much the same way that Mr. Bowdler edited Shakespeare. Nothing is added, but those circumstances which seem in any way questionable are not mentioned.

Biographers of this description are exceedingly popular just now. The feeling against telling the whole truth has reached a pitch which borders on hysteria. Cries of "violated confidence," "scandalous imputations," "the dishonoring of the dead," "the neglected sanctities of private life," fill the air and assail every writer who, having undertaken to tell the story of a life, dares to tell it truly. Authors of memoirs are treated as if they were ghouls or vultures with appetites for dead reputations. Persons who think themselves eminent enough to merit a posthumous biography, destroy their memorials and publish the fact, in order, as they say, to make such a biography impossible. This sentiment, although now seemingly more intense than ever, is far from being new. Half a century ago Lockhart was censured for his life of Sir Walter Scott. Trouble befell John Forster for the account he gave of Dickens, excessive candor and a lack of discretion being charged against him. He was said to have betrayed the friend who had trusted him. But neither Lockhart nor Forster was assailed with half the virulence that Mr. Froude was destined to encounter. The storm against this unhappy man for the works he wrote and edited about Carlyle

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has not even yet spent itself. Probably, at this hour, his is the proud distinction of being the most scolded man in the world.

The fate of Mr. Froude served as a warning to others. Biographies since his have, as a rule, been distinctly less candid than formerly. Mr. Cabot was exceedingly careful with his Emerson; not that he had anything to conceal, but it was difficult, just then, to know what the censors would permit. The work had to be supplemented by another to make it tolerably complete. Prof. Charles Eliot Norton's editing of the Carlyle-Emerson correspondence was so pre-eminently judicious that he was immediately adopted by the anti-Froude party as their model biographer. To show how such things ought to be done, and to emphasize the difference between the good and the bad, he re-edited some of Mr. Froude's own work. Truth to tell, Prof. Norton took kindly to the position, and much that he has since done and written rings with the self-complacency of Jack Horner's famous exclamation, "See what a good boy am I!" Mr. Cross, too, succeeded in making his George Eliot colorless enough to escape censure. The most rigid literary puritan could not but be satisfied. Words are said to have been invented to conceal our thoughts, and biographies of this description are quite as efficacious to conceal the lives they profess to portray.

Open confession in biography does, no doubt, to a certain extent, lay the subject of it at the mercy of those small-minded critics who judge men by what they are not, instead of by what they are; who look at the negative side, point to the weaknesses, and emphasize the defects rather than the achievements. Such critics view everything perversely. To them Burns appears as a man of doubtful morals who wrote poetry; in Charles Lamb they discover a tippler who wrote essays; while Shakespeare himself can hope to rank only as a poacher who was once in jail, and as a second-rate actor who also wrote some plays. That "no man is a hero to his valet" is well understood, and the reason is that the valet sees the minor or petty details of his master's life and not the positive merits. He sees a man who needs shaving and feeding—that is all. Even shaving and feeding become and honor a wise man; but when we are so placed that we see nothing else, the blame is small if we fail to detect

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the hero. The valet's view is false because it is one-sided. The fear of this petty, one-sided, dishonoring estimate is at the root of the existing dread of candor in biography. Lord Tennyson evidently had it in his mind when he wrote those ferocious verses of his about the "vulturous beldam" who attacked the prophet, and

> ". . . tumbled his helpless corpse about.
> Small blemish upon the skin;
> But I think we know what is fair without
> Is often foul within.
>
> "She gabbled as she groped in the dead,
> And all the people were pleased;
> 'See what a little heart,' she cried,
> 'And the liver is half diseased.'"

The valet as biographer is an abomination; for facts out of their true relation are falsehoods, and the error of the valet is that the facts known to him are out of their true relation.

If, however, the valet's view is one-sided and therefore false, so also is the Bowdlerizing view. While Burns was not a man of doubtful morals who wrote poetry, neither was he a poet whose conduct squared with the modern theory of virtue. Lamb was not the "pitiful, ricketty, gasping, stammering tomfool" that Carlyle, acting for once as the spokesman of the valet, said he was. He was the "Saint Charles" of Thackeray, none the less so because he was sometimes tipsy. "His miseries and this one failing," said FitzGerald—who, it is evident, did not belong to the Bowdler school—"except in a noodle's eyes, must enhance the dear fellow's character." "When you know *the whole* of him," wrote Coleridge to Thomas Allsop, "you will love him in spite of all oddities and even faults; nay, I had almost said *for* them." The one needful thing, as Coleridge affirms, is to know the whole; and this is precisely what neither the valet nor the supporter of the Bowdler system understands. The fault of Mr. Froude's work concerning Carlyle—for it was faulty—was not, as his enemies say, that it was too full, but that it was not full enough. Apart from his overhaste, which resulted in inaccuracy of detail, Mr. Froude did his work honestly and to the best of his ability. It was incomplete, not for the reasons that

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valet work or Bowdlerized work is incomplete, but because in one or two ways he was constitutionally unfitted for his task. His sense of humor is defective, and who but a humorist could depict Carlyle? His critical insight, too, is not perfect, so that he failed to give his facts their due significance. The writer of a perfect life of Carlyle would tell all that Mr. Froude has told and perhaps more, but he would tell it differently.

Perhaps, as a matter of strict right, the world has no claim to know the inner and personal life of its eminent men and women. Because they choose to give it the fruit of their genius—their books, or pictures, or music—they are not thereby bound to satisfy it also as to the conduct of their private lives. Let those destroy their papers who will. Better this than that Bowdlerized versions of their lives should be given to the world, for at any rate it has some right not to be misled. Nevertheless, however the question of rights may be settled, it is no more than wise for great people to allow their stories to be told. They cannot hinder the telling of some story. They cannot even suppress wholly what Mr. Froude calls the "prickly aspects" of their lives. In the long run it will be best for their reputations, as well as for the world, that they should get their biographies as fully and truly written as possible. Why any honest man should grudge to gratify the curiosity of the world in such a matter is not altogether clear. There is, to quote Fenimore Cooper, "an instinctive tendency in men to look at any man who has become distinguished"; and this, on the whole, is a blameless curiosity if not an actually worthy one. After all, "the proper study of mankind is man," and the present is essentially an age which recognizes this truth. While the poet of a hundred years ago was pleased to praise nature for her own sake, or as the work of the Creator, the poet of to-day cares for her chiefly in connection with man; nay, in his zeal for human well-being, he throws even poetry aside and turns socialist. Socialism itself, with all its vagaries, is testimony to the prevailing human interest. The same change in sentiment and thought appears if we contrast Gilbert White with Thoreau, or John Locke with Herbert Spencer, or the novel of the past with the psychological romance of to-day. Look at the quantity of biographies,

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good and bad, which figure in the book lists. The curiosity about persons is sometimes morbid, hence the growth of the inferior kind of "society" journalism; but in general it is no greedy desire for scandal, but an honorable interest arising out of a sympathetic sense of fellowship.

In reality, the one thing which, more than all others, gives to the valet his opportunity and importance, is an attempt to suppress the prickly aspects of a man's career. The valet finds himself the possessor of information which, ignorantly or willfully, has been suppressed. What is more natural, and from his standpoint even meritorious, than that he should enlighten the world? He does so, and his narrative takes the character of a revelation. The world asks why it was kept back, thinks the worst, and suspects that other things are still concealed. All he has told in a detached manner would bear an entirely different meaning if it had been embodied in the narrative. The prickly aspects of a rose tree are not tolerable when the flower is not there, but they trouble us little when it is. The prickly aspects of a man's career, which offend so much when exhibited by the valet, are justified and explained when the whole is seen. All actions do, indeed, equally become and equally honor a wise man; but they must be taken together as he performed them, and not separated one from another as "good" and "bad." The valet, with his offensive revelation, does not err more grievously than he who exhibits only the other side.

By way of example, take the recent case of Father Damien. When he died the world was invited to contemplate a sweet ethereal saint who had given his life to the service of the lepers. Such a man in such circumstances was impossible; he would have been too keenly sensitive to fulfill the task that the real Damien fulfilled. This, however, did not matter, for nobody thought of it. I remember I received something of a shock when I saw Damien's portrait, it was so different from the ideal created by the newspapers. When we think of it, however, a certain admixture of the rough, hardy, and even coarse element in the man's nature was inevitable. If this had been made known from the first, no harm would have been done. We should all have respected Damien more wisely and quite as well. But it

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was not made known until the Rev. Dr. Hyde, of Honolulu, undertook to enlighten us. He announced that Damien was not the man the world had been led to fancy, which was true; he gave particulars of his prickly aspects—correctly, it may be, as to the facts. In the interest of truth—truth as the valet sees it—and, we need not doubt, in all sincerity, he exposed Damien. He said the missionary was coarse, dirty, headstrong, bigoted, and many other things which looked very bad, told in this way. A coarse and dirty man who goes among lepers is not admirable. If this is Damien, he stands condemned. But a man who, with a single eye to duty, gave his whole life to the fulfillment of one loathsome task, though he was deficient in refinement, is a hero whom we must honor. Partial statement following partial statement in a spirit of controversy will never bring us to the truth. It is not enough to state the facts; they must be given in their true relation. Facts out of relation are not only falsehoods, as I have said; they are falsehoods of the most mischievous kind.

Luther is another case in point; and here Mr. Froude, among others, really was much to blame. The Luther of Mr. Froude —which may be regarded as the Protestant version—was something like the Damien of the newspapers, a kind of George Herbert, a man of mild and gentle disposition, meek, forbearing, almost timid. He is pictured to us at Wartburg Castle as giving his mind to pious meditation and gathering strawberries. The man with the "rude plebeian face, with its huge crag-like brows and bones, the emblem of rugged energy, at first almost a repulsive face," is not visible for a moment. The man who could do what Luther did is not visible. This Protestant version of Luther was fitted only to be a country vicar, or the curate of a fashionable church, called to minister to the spiritual needs of an aristocratic flock. The consequence is that the Protestant version of Luther is confronted with the Catholic version, wherein the distortion is all the other way. Not in either and not in both together have we any real vision of the man as he was—a man who, living in a gross age, amid gross surroundings, partook in a measure of the prevailing grossness; no paragon of the finer virtues; no tender saint, but in many ways a very robust

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sinner who pretended to be nothing else; but with it all faithful to conscience, strong and strenuous in doing his appointed task, a hero and a prophet. Such an instrument for such a work was fitting and needed no apology.

It should be remembered that the honest biographer is not a "devil's advocate," whose duty is to make the most of all defects. He is not an advocate at all. His business is with neither the good nor the bad, but with the true. Biography, more than any other kind of literature, brings us near to life itself. The biographer is a portrait-painter; his materials are the incidents in the career, and his task is to produce a life-like portrait. He is such a painter as Hawthorne described, who "paints not merely a man's features, but his mind and heart," and "catches the secret sentiments and passions and throws them upon the canvas." What he shall tell and leave untold must be determined as the painter determines his tints, by what will produce the true total effect. If he exclude anything that nature found necessary, he will produce, not a man, but a monstrosity. The victims of Bowdlerized biographies are all monstrosities. No really great reputation ever suffered from a true presentment. Dr. Johnson's prickly aspects, which were many, were not concealed. Boswell was too faithful to his friend to doubt the truth of Montaigne's precept, and the valet was put out of court. It is easy to see that this method was really the best for the reputation of the Doctor. If there had been no Boswell, but only a Bowdler, it is likely that by this time there would be no Johnson. There would have been much controversy about his merits and demerits, and opinion would have been divided. One version would have given Johnson as a perfumed dandy; the other as a "coarse, dirty man, headstrong and bigoted."

Only the hypocrite has cause to fear an open and fearless exposure of his life. Dr. Johnson's contemporary, Benjamin Franklin, might well be unable to rest in his grave if he apprehended that his own version of himself was to be superseded by a true one. Probably the world has taken him at his own valuation too long to allow itself to be undeceived. The mythical Franklin will continue to be the darling of his countrymen, and the model for the schoolboy everywhere. When the schoolboy

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shall grow up, and shall discover that the man he was taught to regard as almost a saint was a perverter of the truth, a picker of other men's ideas, and a corrupter of women, let us hope that his moral principles will not become confused.

It seems, then, that, in biography as elsewhere, "the truest expedience," as Cardinal Newman has said, "is to answer right out, . . . the wisest economy is to have no management, the best prudence is not to be a coward, the most damaging folly is to be found out shuffling, and the first of virtues is 'to tell the truth and shame the devil.'" The man of science has long been puzzled about the spots on the sun. Theory has followed theory on the subject without satisfactory result. What their use is he may discover or not, but he is not likely to find that they have no use and are flaws or imperfections merely. In like manner moralists have sought vainly for an explanation of the prickly aspects of good men's characters. They too, like their scientific brother, may discover the use of these spots. Meantime, that they are essentially part of character, is a truth which should be understood. When men shall have learned how to secure light without darkness, and the upper side without the under side, they will be in a fair way to secure virtue without that which they presumptuously term sin. Hans Christian Andersen has told the tragic story of the man who parted with his shadow, only at last to become its slave and victim. Mr. Louis Stevenson has shown how Dr. Jekyll divided the good from the evil in his nature, and, as a consequence, succumbed to the evil. Poor Aylmer, in Hawthorne's story of "The Birth Mark," tried to give perfection to his bride, and learned too late that a necessary part of her perfection was the very mark which he had deemed a flaw. The disciples of Mr. Bowdler should take heed, and, if not for the sake of truth, then for the sake of the reputations they desire to protect, amend their ways, and henceforth live and act and write biographies with faith that, as "all actions equally become and equally honor a wise man," if only "the whole" be stated and stated truly, their especial heroes will surely survive the test.

WALTER LEWIN.

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THE FOUR MODES OF LIFE.

THE plant lives on air and water. Vegetal life is increase in magnitude and number. With some exceptions, the waste products of the plant are such as it cannot use in the process of assimilation. The life of the plant is expended in its own accumulation and in the preparation of the germs of reproduction. Plant life is molecular motion. The food of the plant is storm; the life of the plant is sunshine. In the transformation of air and water into plant tissue, the process is concealed from man. With the microscope he discovers the change in cellular structure, and by chemical research he obtains some information in relation to the molecular combination involved; but man, with all his power of perception, fails to discover the orderly procession of atoms and molecules from inorganic existence to plant life. With all research there is yet an unknown. Sweet odors, delicious tastes, beautiful forms, and delicate colors are developed by this mysterious process. Man discovers that colors are ethereal modes of motion transformed by the petal. He discovers that forms are the organized motions of atoms and molecules, as the form of the solar system depends on the systematic revolution of its worlds. He discovers that flavors and odors are modes of motion transmitted to the nervous system. But exactly what these motions are he is unable to discover, because the moving atoms and molecules are too minute to come under his observation as discrete bodies.

From the mountain top the climber sees the forest beyond the valley, but he cannot resolve it into separate trees. From a neighboring hill he distinguishes one of the trees, but cannot resolve it into trunk, branches, leaves, and flowers. Under the shade of the tree he discovers its morphologic elements, and, plucking a flower, he resolves it into sepals, petals, pistils, and stamens, with interdependent parts; but with the naked eye he cannot distinguish smaller constituent parts. From the eye-

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piece of his microscope he resolves these component parts into cells. Now he can gain no better vantage ground for his perception; but with his reason, armed with methods of chemical and physical research, he reaches the induction that discrete atoms and molecules are systematically grouped in the petals by motion. Their characteristics are yet unknown to him; his perception and reason alike are baffled by the minute constitution of matter. A mystery of minitude incloses the investigator with a wall through which he finds no portals. Thus it is that, although much is known of plant structure and life, there is still, beyond, a recognized unknown. Vitality is a mystery.

The plant is the food of the animal, and the life of the plant is the life of the animal. Storm and sunshine are thus transferred by the vegetal world to the animal world. Plants receive food that is wafted to them, but animals seek their food. They wander over the valleys, climb the mountains, traverse the waters, and navigate the air to obtain it. Not only do they utilize the vegetal world, but some live on others. Plant life is molecular motion, but in animal life molar motion is added. For this an osseous framework is developed, to which muscles are attached, and these muscles are controlled and correlated for locomotion by a system of nerves. In animal life, to nutrition is added muscular function, and that nervous function by which muscular action is induced and co-ordinated. The body of the plant, its completed product, is the raw material for animal life; this must be elaborated, and a congeries of organs for digestion and circulation appears. As the animal is endowed with locomotion, it must secure a supply of motion which can be used for that purpose, and this it obtains from its food, building tissue only to tear it down again for the motion necessary for locomotion and then to return it to the inorganic world. So the process continues, and the new ever replaces the old. An animal is but a form of organic parts through which a stream of matter pours. A plant builds itself into an aggregation which is permanent while life lasts; an animal builds itself into an aggregation which passes away to supply its locomotive life. The plant is a snow bank that piles up while the storm continues; the animal is a river that must be fed by perennial springs, and

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it flows on in a form which persists, while the matter of which it is composed is forever changing. As the river is the same in form, but ever changing in substance, so an animal is a persistent form with a passing substance.

Much is known of the animal structure and its functions, of the substance and its life. The organs of elaboration and nutrition have been discriminated, and the tissues of which they are composed are found to consist of cells and modified cells. The functions of these organs and tissues have also been subjects of investigation, until knowledge has been pushed far; yet man has not been able to reach the limits of the minute in these processes of animal life, and there are molecular structures and molecular motions of nutrition about which he speculates but about which he knows little. Of the transmutation of this molecular motion of nutrition into the molar motion of locomotion, he has also learned much. He has analyzed the structure into bones, ligaments, muscles, and nerves. He has resolved these organs into tissues and then into cells or corpuscles, and he discovers structure in these elements. Thus far he goes with his perception; then by his reason he resolves cells into molecules; but how the motion of nutrition is transformed into molar motion in the realm of these molecules and atoms, he has not learned. In plant life there is a mystery of transformation in the region of the minute. In animal life there is a similar mystery in the change of the assimilative life of the plant into the nutritive life of the animal, and in the transformation of this into muscular function, which involves the genesis of sentiency. He who is engaged in the investigation of animal life has his vision darkened by a veil of minitude, through which he sees molecules as cells moving, as one of old saw men as trees moving.

The new psychology, as a science, deals with the nervous system and relates psychic activities to nerve functions. Theories relating to the substance of the soul are relegated to the realm of philosophy, where the old questions are still discussed with the subtleties of dialectics. The philosophers who deal with these subjects still seek to know whether the real generates the ideal or the ideal generates the real, and to what extent the universe masks itself under an illusive veil of phenomena. The

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scientific psychologist deals with the structure and functions of the nervous system. In his investigations he resolves this system into a congeries of organs, and these organs he again resolves into nerve fibers and corpuscles. He discovers that these structural units exist in vast numbers, that there are hundreds of millions of each in one organization, and that they are all connected and systematically arranged. Then he finds out that one such element as the corpuscle has structure or differentiated parts. All these things he discovers by perception. His reasoning powers go further, and he learns that the smallest units revealed to his perception may still be resolved into molecules; but here he reaches the limits of his analysis of structure.

The organs are composed of animal tissue having animal life, and the same questions relating to their structure and motions appear as present themselves in animal life. A region of the unknown is reached in the direction of the minute. It has been seen that nutrition is a more complex form of motion than plant assimilation, and that the molecular motions organized by animal tissue are transmuted into molar motions. Thus a part of the motion of the animal tissue is draughted away to be used in locomotion. With the higher nervous system a new mode of motion arises, exhibited in percipiency, which is the foundation of knowing. This is an additional transmutation; for it an additional supply of motion must be furnished, and there must be a new method.

In order to set forth clearly the facts essential to this discussion in relation to motion, a secondary term as a new name for motion is convenient, and for this purpose the store of animal motion which is transmuted into psychic motion will be called a force. In using the term "force" in this manner it must be understood that it is a symbol for the antecedent motion, and not for an occult something which generates motion. How is animal force transmuted into mind motion, or psychosis, or psychic activity? Now scientific investigations in psychology have gone a long way in the last few decades, in the solution of this problem, and the functions of the nervous system are rapidly being revealed by the acute researches of an army of scientific men. The external forces of the universe play upon the river of animal life, and constitute the agencies by which animal life is transmuted

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into psychic life. Psychic life is transformed animal life. The agencies of transformation are external forces, which act upon the life of the nervous system through organs specialized for that purpose. These are the sense organs. The function of the senses, therefore, is to transmute animal activity into psychic activity. Through them the forces of the universe impinge upon the animal river, and transform its even current by inducing waves, or shocks, or vibrations, or impulses, which, being organized, appear as psychic activities.

For the purpose of this discussion it is not necessary to consider some of the less important of these impinging forces. The chief external agents in psychic transmutation are touch, taste, smell, hearing, and sight. The forces of touch are molar, and by impinging with great force upon the river of animal life of the nervous system, they produce strong but rude psychic effects. Through the agency of taste, chemical forces impinge upon the organism of psychic life and produce effects of importance in animal life, especially as a stimulus to obtain food. The impinging forces that come through the organs of smell are probably also of a chemical nature, and they effect results in psychic transmutation. The impinging forces of hearing come through the air in the well-known waves of sound, and by them the nervous system is put in communication with vibrating agencies in an extensive environment. The forces of a vast field play upon the nervous system, and sound is thus one of the great agencies in psychic transformation. All emotion, all cognition, and all volition generated by speech are transformations accomplished by this agency. The apparatus of hearing combines the vibrations of the atmosphere from 16 in a second to 40,000 in a second, and in combining them discovers voice, and music, and the multitudinous sounds of nature. But the master agency in the production of mind is vision. Its medium is the universal ether, and its force or store of motion is the light of the cosmos; through it the mind is put in communication with the universe, and by it corpuscles and stars are revealed. The effective environment of the mind through vision embraces the near and the far, the minute and the vast. The apparatus of vision discovers the intensities and the combinations of the pulsations of the ether,

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as they are made known in chiaro-oscuro and color; through this apparatus are revealed the secrets of space and time, and the forms and motions of things terrestrial and celestial.

Now, the thing to be emphasized is this: the mode of life which we have here called psychosis is the transmutation of the river of animal life by impinging forces of many kinds—molar forces exerted through the sense of touch, chiefly by solids; chemical forces exerted through taste by fluid substances; perhaps chemical forces through smell, the agencies of which are diffused in the air almost in the molecular condition; gaseous motions coming through the air; and the ethereal motions of light. Thus the nervous system is put into communication with the external world through the solid, fluid, gaseous, and ethereal states of matter; and all these forces, all these modes of motion, impinge upon the river of life and transform the animal life of nutrition into the life of mind. How this transformation is accomplished, far down in the atomic constitution of the system, is yet unknown; but in this transmutation the genesis of percipiency is involved. This is the unknown of psychic life; here again we meet the mystery of minitude. There are two limits to the human perception and the human understanding, two walls that converge at the dawn of the life of the species—an opaque *façade* of magnitude on one hand, and one of minitude on the other. But with the progress of knowledge the walls diverge, and a wider landscape of truth is ever presented. It is the dream of the philosopher that these walls may vanish, while it is the dogma of the philosopher that they will never disappear.

The fourth mode of life is exhibited by social organization. The units here organized are men. The primal organization is based on sex. It has its foundation, therefore, in animal life; but man, endowed with a high degree of psychic life, develops this new organization in a most elaborate manner, with units of individuals, families, and governmental bodies, such as clans, tribes, and confederacies in the tribal state, and districts, parishes, townships, towns, counties, cities, and nations in the national state. Concurrent with this, other systems of units are developed, such as associations for religious worship, for social enjoyment, for literary and artistic improvement, and for the

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promotion of many other ends. Still parallel with the regulative, governmental, and corporate organization of units, a vast system or plexus of industrial units, or associations of men, is discovered. Through them all, the people of the state are made interdependent and mutually helpful, and the interdependence and helpfulness extend to international relations. It is not necessary here to set forth systematically and fully the social organization of mankind; the facts are too well known. Still, it is a fourth mode of life, a fourth method of aggregation, by which animal life and psychic life are transmuted into conduct. How this transmutation is accomplished is known to a large extent, for it is recounted in the history of peoples. Conduct is the fourth mode of life; and this function of society has its mystery, for in the ultimate analysis of conduct motives are reached, and the power of choice is developed, which is unperceived in itself and known only as manifested in conduct.

Thus, whatever line of investigation may be taken, the unknown is reached. The mystery that limits possible knowledge is relative to our intellectual faculties, and is antipodal, being in the direction of minitude on the one hand and in that of magnitude on the other. Within these limits there is much that is unknown, but everywhere investigators work with hope, being assured that by well-directed labor they will be rewarded. They are also steadily engaged in pushing back the antipodal limits. The darkness of the resolvable unknown still hangs like a cloud over all science, but the sunlight of research is steadily dissipating it. Then the smoke of dialectic disputation inflames the mental eye, and the smoke and the cloud blend in one vast mass through which men but peer at the known.

In the above exposition an attempt has been made to point out the four grand modes of life, and to show that they may be clearly discriminated when they are fully developed, and that this is true although the phenomena of each mode have not been fully resolved into ultimate elements. The attempt has been made to discriminate between the known and the unknown, to characterize only the known, and to formulate no logical dogmas about mysteries. Whether the phenomena of all of these modes of life are ultimately to be resolved into matter and motion, into

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matter and spirit, into force and spirit, or into matter, motion, and spirit, is left to the philosophy of the present and to the science of the future. The analysis and concomitant synthesis have not yet been made, except in dialectics, which the scientific man is unable to understand, and which is known only by those who have special illumination.

In characterizing the four modes of life as fully developed, it has been assumed that they have developed, and that in every mode of life is presented a series of changes from a lower to a higher degree—such a series as the mathematician and logician would characterize as infinite, and which may be called the "series of becoming," by which that which was has become that which is. This "becoming" is evolution, and evolution is the negation of the syllogism of the excluded middle. For it is not true that there is an impassable chasm between the "is" and the "is not," or between being and not being, since in every process a series of becoming fills the gap.

There are many wonderful transformations. The bell transforms the blow into the chime; the violin transforms the strokes of the arm into melody; the organs of speech transform breath into the language of the old, old story. Transformation is the primal law of nature. The nuptial kiss of oxygen and hydrogen transforms them into water, and the twain are one. A slight fall in temperature transforms water into ice, and changes the rain drop into the snow flake; and by the passing breeze the snow bank is transformed into the cloud resplendent in the evening sun. By change of temperature the cloud is transformed into the glacier, and by another change of temperature the glacier is transformed into the river. The river transforms the plain into valleys and hills, and gathering up the sands carries them to the sea, where tides and currents bear them along the shore and slowly form fringing islands, which combine in building continents. Then the cooling of the crust of the earth, with various accessory agencies, transforms the coastal plain into plateaus, which are carved into mountains by rivers. Thus the inorganic transformations are many, from instantaneous chemical combination to the slow development of mountains.

The inorganic transformations are wonderful, but those of the

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modes of life are more wonderful. The plant transforms the cloud into the lily; this is the transformation of substance by assimilation. Then the acorn is transformed into the oak; this is transformation by the life process. Spores, by a long process of evolution, are transformed into sequoias; this is the process of becoming by heredity through the generations. The fruits of the copse become thrushes, acorns become squirrels, and antelopes become mountain lions; this is transformation by the agencies of nutrition. A floating ovum in a brook becomes a trout, and an egg becomes a robin; these are the transformations of individuals through a lifetime. Monads are changed into eagles and lions; such transformations are accomplished through heredity from generation to generation.

In the transformations of plant and animal life that have thus been illustrated, three grand classes may be observed, as follows: There are the changes of assimilation and the series of changes of nutrition; becoming or transformation in this manner is called "histogenesis." Then there is the transformation which comes in the course of a lifetime to an individual plant or animal, by which the germ is changed into the adult and the adult stage slowly passes to death by old age; this change is called "ontogenesis." Then there is the transformation that arises through heredity, where slight changes from generation to generation accumulate until the process is complete; this is called "phylogenesis." In all these the unknown in the direction of minitude is reached, so that there is always a mystery.

Then there are the transformations of psychic and social life, more wonderful still. The sight of a reptile is transformed into the emotion of horror; the pain of a scratch in a babe is transformed into the sorrows of old age; the thrill of impact received by a mollusk on the shore, as the waves dash against it, is transformed into the ecstasy produced by a symphony. The light analyzed by rain drops is transformed into the vision of a rainbow; the prattling questions of the child are transformed into the researches of the sage; the crude perception of resistance in the beginning of the world's life is transformed into the knowledge of the solar system; sympathy for distress is transformed into deeds of heroism; the infantine pommeling of vacuity is

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transformed into the enterprise which spans the continent with a railroad; the shrinking of a polyp from the beating of the sands dashed by the waves of the sea is transformed into the volition that guides a nation. A motive of love is transformed into a journey across the sea; a motive of gain into the tunneling of a mountain; and the love of truth into chemical research. Childish toddling is transformed into a cotillion; playing for marbles into gambling for stocks; and the soothing of the pain of a playmate into the life of benefaction. Finally, the meandering of the worm for food is transformed into conduct controlled by æsthetic principles.

In the four modes of life, as they have here been characterized, the many transformations can all be resolved into four that are fundamental, each one of which pertains to one of the modes. The first is involved in the genesis of life, in which we have the mystery of vitality; the second is involved in the genesis of feeling, where we have the mystery of sentiency; the third is involved in the genesis of knowledge, where we have the mystery of percipiency; the fourth is involved in the genesis of conduct, where we have the mystery of volition or choice, for which I should like to coin the word "volitiency." Vitality, sentiency, percipiency, and volitiency are the four great mysteries belonging to the four modes of life. As we know much about gravity, as explained by the laws or conditions of gravity; as we know much of chemism and the conditions for chemical reactions, as set forth in the science of chemistry; so we know much about vitality, sentiency, percipiency, and volitiency. And yet in all these properties there is an unknown.

The science of the evolution of life is the science which explains the conditions of the four mysteries or methods of transformation, and it seeks in each case to discover the series of becoming. When the several steps of these series are fully discovered, the genesis is explained. Whence come the power of living, the power of feeling, the power of knowing, and the power of choosing? These are yet the mysteries of life. These powers come in the order in which they have been named, and constitute a series of transformations. The fact of their becoming is well known, the order in which they arise is well known, and

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many of the conditions under which they arise are well known. Vitality comes with protoplasm, sentiency with nerve structure, percipiency with ganglionic structure, and volitiency with the compounding of ganglions in the encephalon.

In the four modes of life there are four lines of evolution or becoming, but they are not parallel. From the midst of plant life springs animal life, from the midst of animal life springs psychic life, and from the midst of psychic life springs social life; and each presents a distinct series of becoming, governed by its own laws of evolution. As there are four kinds of life, so there are four kinds of evolution, four methods of becoming, four systems of laws; that is, there are four groups of phenomena and four methods of genesis. But in the complexities of the cosmos the phenomena are entangled; and in the doctrines of evolution taught by scientific men, and reiterated in the literature of the times, the four methods of becoming have been still further entangled and confused. Thus the laws of evolution applying to plants and to animals have been supposed to be identical with the laws of evolution of men in society, making the doctrines of evolution opposed to the plans of men in their endeavor to improve their condition. The survival of the fittest is supposed to be a more potent process than the endeavor for improvement, and mercy and charity are supposed to thwart the laws of universal progress.

The law of evolution itself has been evolved. It has its stages of becoming, and by process of development is gradually transformed. The law of the destruction of the many for the advantage of the few is first discovered in plant life, is modified in animal life, is further changed in psychic life, and through the development of conduct in social life ultimately becomes a system of ethics composed of laws of conduct marvelous in their beneficence. The story of becoming, exhibited in the development of the laws of evolution, is the supreme wonder.

J. W. POWELL.

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AS THE CHINESE SEE US.

It sometimes does us good "to see ourselves as others see us." Montesquieu made a happy hit when, in his "Persian Letters," he gave the French the benefit of Uzbeg's intelligent criticism. Goldsmith, who is not above imitation, favors us, in his "Citizen of the World," with the views of a Chinese philosopher. Lienchi Altangi is still on his travels. We meet him on the ocean steamer, at the summer watering place, and in the boxes of our fashionable theaters. He inspects our machinery and studies the mechanism of our social and political systems. He is not a *flaneur* in quest of distraction, but an observer by profession, reporting his impressions for the information of his people. To us he expresses himself in the language of oriental compliment, but if we wish to know what he thinks of us we must hear what he says to his countrymen.

The High Commissioner Keying, who was sent to Canton in 1842 to negotiate a treaty with the English, tried to be polite when he was placed at table between two European ladies. The ladies, it is needless to say, were charmed by his urbanity; but some years later, when, on the capture of the city, copies of his reports to the Emperor fell into the hands of the English, they saw the other side of the picture. One of the reports ran:

"Your majesty's servant accepted from policy an invitation to dine with the barbarian chief, but what was his astonishment to find himself seated between two women! His first impulse was to regard the affair as an affront, and to leave the table; but, on second thought, he deemed it better to conceal his feelings, and not to risk the rupture of our negotiation."

Two of the earliest narratives of Chinese travel in the West —one by Lin, of Amoy, written about forty years ago, the other by Pin, of Peking, written in 1866—are in the form of verse. The travelers saw so much that was new and strange that they naturally rushed into heroics. Their poetry is not, however, all

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praise; in more than one place their laudatory stanzas betray an undercurrent of satire. Since those dates communication has become so frequent that Chinese readers are growing familiar with the phases of our western life, and Chinese writers are accustomed to handle us without the white gloves of poetry.

The two educational missions, one bringing a hundred young men to this country and the other a less number to France, formed the opening chapter of this prosaic apocalypse. The fact that the students sent to the United States were recalled, for fear they might learn too much, is in itself somewhat suggestive. More recently Chinese legations in our western capitals, and Chinese consulates at our seaports, have been busily engaged in photographing our manners as well as our politics; and within the last three years a commission of inquiry, consisting of twelve men eminent for scholarship, has been sent by imperial command to make a study of all countries from the Ural Mountains to the Golden Gate. The reports of these commissioners are not yet given to the public, but the correspondence of Chinese diplomatists has from time to time been allowed to appear. The general tenor of these documents is favorable, but in most of them there are perceptible *lacunæ*, where a sense of delicacy has suggested the omission of passages that might give offense to foreign readers.

Some years ago a Chinese diplomat at Berlin insisted on presenting at court a red card as large as a sheet of note paper, instead of the regulation pasteboard. So conservative was he that, in his published journal, he charges a colleague with treason to Chinese custom because the latter, while at Malta, allowed himself to be wrapped in the governor's mantle to protect him from a shower; and in visiting a polytechnic museum he sneers, as Plato might have done, at the shallow conception of philosophy which measures its value by its tendency to lead to curious inventions. Yet this man, prejudiced and haughty as he appeared, was practical enough, before returning to China, to provide himself with a new set of teeth.

"Your superior skill in the mathematical and mechanical arts we are ready to acknowledge," a learned Chinese once said to me, "but you must concede to us the palm in philosophy and

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letters." This estimate is the prevailing one among educated Chinese, as they compare our civilization with their own. It may be modified, and doubtless will be, by further acquaintance; but it shows that they are not imposed upon by the glitter of wealth or by the noise of machinery. The material progress on which we pride ourselves weighs little in their scales when poised against moral principles and æsthetic culture. Steam and electricity are admirable as accessories; but the Chinese are not disposed to undervalue the wisdom of their ancestors, who were unacquainted with either. Nothing proves more conclusively that the Chinese government is waking up and striving to overtake this age of progress than the dispatch of such a commission as that to which we have referred. The program of questions by which they were to be guided in their researches related chiefly to the armies and navies of western powers, to their mining and manufacturing industries, and to their commerce and social condition. Under each of these heads, except the last, they must have had many marvels to report, and not a few things to recommend for adoption; but it is safe to say that in our social institutions they have found much to censure—nor would their censure be without a show of reason.

I purpose to convert my pen into a divining rod, and by its aid to follow the underground current of the commissioners' confidential dispatches. This I am enabled to do with the more certainty as, in addition to the documents above referred to, I have read and taken notes of a Chinese work in sixteen volumes on social life in Europe. This portentous production, entitled "*Sze-Chu-Che*," is from the pen of a gentleman who was attached to four legations in the capacity of interpreter or secretary, and who spent ten or fifteen years in the western world. In tone it is as far as possible from the *nil admirari* of most Asiatics; but the author does not abstain from friendly criticism. The following are a few of his headings, which serve to show the scope of the work and the opportunities which he enjoyed for the study of his subject: "Reception at Court; Rules for Drawing Rooms and Levees." "Tea Parties; Four of an Evening; My Fur Robes Changed Eight Times." "Visit to the Patent Office; the System and Its Advantages." "Hospitals,

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Aided by Balls, Concerts, and Fairs." "Banks and Banking." "The Uses of Science." "Woman in Society; Extravagance of Female Dress." "Character of the English; Want of Filial Piety." "St. Valentine's Day; Love-making." "Stanley at the Royal Geographical Society." "List of Usages the Opposite of Ours; Strange but Not Irrational."

I might go on to transcribe almost the whole table of contents, with the assurance that every item would afford suggestions on the subject of this paper. Take, for example, the last entry, which seems to be a sort of summary of all the rest. How we should like to read that catalogue of contraries, and to note the reflection that "the fatality that has made us the antipodes of each other has of necessity turned our heads in opposite directions"! Unfortunately the book is not at hand, and my notes are incomplete. The work relates, moreover, not to America, but to England and other European countries. Instead, therefore, of making long citations from this book, or any other of Chinese authorship, I prefer to combine the impressions made by several, in the shape of what we may call "composite photographs." It is not likely that they differ in any essential feature from the pictures drawn of us in the secret correspondence of the mission of inquiry.

First, let us see what they think of our newspapers. Wherever Chinese travelers go they are dogged by reporters, and compelled to submit to the inevitable interview. They long for a longitude in which they shall be permitted to keep their opinions to themselves, or to impart them only to those who have a right to know them. Americans, they perceive, are very vain of their periodical press. The Chinese are struck with the fact that each of our great journals claims to have a larger circulation than any other, and to exert a leading influence in the formation of public opinion. The influence of the press they do not deny, but its character appears to them to be mixed. Our newspapers, as it seems to our visitors, not merely unmask the bad; they too often ruin the fair fame of good men. Committed to the interests of party, like sharpshooters they have but one object, and that is to bring down the enemy. Nothing could be worse for public morals. They serve up indiscrimi-

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nately accidents and crimes for the daily fare of their readers, whose taste becomes so perverted that they can hardly enjoy a breakfast without a chapter of horrors to quicken the appetite. The amount of worthless matter thus forced on their attention, of necessity precludes the reading of classic authors. It makes men superficial—knowing many things rather than knowing much—and it has an unquestionable tendency to lower the standard of literary taste. So detestable are some of these papers that a Chinese reader scarcely regrets to see them trampled in the mire of the street, although in his country every morsel of printed paper is held sacred, and no one is so brutal as to abuse one, because by respecting letters the Chinese show respect to those from whom they derive their civilization. If the commissioners should recommend the introduction of newspapers into China, it would certainly be with the condition that they should be placed under the restraints of a judicious censorship.

Americans generally are proud of their theaters. They look on them as a source of refined amusement, and ask oriental visitors if they do not afford suggestions for the improvement of the Chinese drama. Our critics acknowledge the superior richness of our stage decorations, but the spirit of our theater they regard as exceedingly objectionable. The masterpieces of the classic drama are rarely placed on the boards. The favorite plays are those that teach no moral lesson, and depend for their fascinating power on enlisting the imagination on the side of the lower passions. In many instances little is left for the imagination to supply; scenes that ought to be withheld from modest eyes are represented in detail, and the wealth and fashion of the land are drawn together by the charms of women of doubtful reputation. If a woman with some pretensions to beauty is fortunate enough to win the attentions of a prince, and in consequence to figure in the divorce courts, rival theaters immediately compete for her services. Voice and acting are secondary considerations; her secret history and her voluptuous person are the things that draw. The Chinese theater is not immaculate; but if it does not always keep to its profession of inculcating the cardinal virtues, it is at least free from the charge of corrupting youth by unseemly displays of female profligacy.

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The commissioners certainly will not advise the repeal of the law that forbids a woman to appear on the stage in China.

The Chinese are often asked whether they continue to approve what Americans are pleased to call the "oriental seclusion of the weaker sex," and they always answer in the affirmative. In their country this seclusion is happily not so rigorous as in Turkey. Their women wear no veils and are not deprived of air, sunshine, and society; the degree of privacy required by their rules not going beyond a modest retirement—protecting, not oppressing. To their ideas there is nothing more repugnant than the so-called social freedom that exposes innocent girls to the approaches of designing men. Elopements of wives and daughters, clandestine marriages, and the scandals of divorce are in America things of daily occurrence. How much better, say the Chinese, to have marriages arranged by parents than to leave them to the caprice of inexperienced youth! Their system works better than ours, if we may judge by the fact that, though their laws allow considerable latitude for divorce, the intervention of the courts is seldom invoked.

We Americans are justly reproached with neglecting our ancestors. In our public cemeteries we erect for them magnificent mausoleums, but in our dwellings one would search in vain for any vestige of former generations. Once buried they are forgotten, and the soul abhors oblivion. Chinese sages teach their people not only to bury their dead with suitable rites, but to keep them in remembrance by periodical offerings. On the first count Americans stand acquitted, but the second exposes the weakest link in our social system. Our ancestors, as such, have no hold on our affections. When a member of the family is laid in the tomb, we follow him for a time with tender regrets and floral offerings; then years may elapse without a visit to his resting place. Why, say our critics, do we not inculcate in the minds of our children that for body, mind, and character they are beholden to those who have gone before? And why do we not, like them, assemble at the graves of our fathers at least twice in the year, in order to cherish a sense of these obligations? No wonder that the sheaf of arrows falls asunder, that brothers strive about their patrimony, and that cousins are looked on as aliens.

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We have in our books a sacred maxim which commands us to honor father and mother; but with us that duty never goes beyond our immediate parents, whereas with the Chinese it becomes a religion which extends its hallowed sentiment, like self-diffusing fragrance, to every link in the family succession. To keep the family line unbroken, to transmit the family name untarnished, and to win honors that shed their luster backward on the lowly resting place of former generations—these are motives in the absence of which it is hard for them to see how Americans contrive to maintain anything like a decent morality. In China the law favors the parent; with us it is partial to the child. The founder of our faith denounces the Jews for inventing the corban, by which a man was released from ministering to the wants of his parents; yet our laws release him from any such obligation at the age of twenty-one. As soon as he is capable of gaining his livelihood he is free to forsake the parental roof and to accumulate property on his own account. He may even become rich while his father remains in penury. A young man has been known to murder his father, and after a few months of seclusion to be set at liberty to corrupt society. In China such a monster would expiate his guilt by a death sufficiently horrible to strike terror into the minds of the unfilial. Nature requires the aid of law, and centuries of discipline cannot fail to leave their impress on the character of a race. For this reason, doubtless, the Chinese enter the world more richly endowed than others with that quality of reverence which disposes them not merely to honor their ancestors, but to show respect to civil authority.

"The family," say the Chinese sages, "is the root of the state"; and monarchy is therefore as natural in the latter as in the former. Who ever heard of a republican family? In America the bonds of government are as lax as those of kindred. The American family is a grass, whose seed is dispersed to the four winds and takes root wherever it finds a favoring soil; the Chinese is a banyan, whose boughs bend reverently down and plant themselves in widening circles around the parent stem, the vital union remaining unbroken from age to age. Theirs is incontestably the nobler type; and the same, they maintain, is true of their government. The most ancient that exists on the face

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of the earth, it rises before us venerable as Egypt's pyramids, and scorns comparison with a mushroom republic. Their throne is filled by inheritance, instead of being made the prize of a quadrennial conflict. So hedged about by law and custom is the exercise of imperial power that little room is left for arbitrary action, and their public affairs move on with as much steadiness as is attainable under the best-balanced constitution—with far more than in a country like this, which does not possess even the rudiments of a civil service, and where the people live in perennial dread of some political convulsion. While their sovereigns are schooled in the doctrine that the throne exists for the good of the people, the people, on their part, are attached to the government by a reasonable assurance that its highest offices are held as the rewards of merit. Aspirants for office, instead of canvassing for votes or traducing the opposite party, apply themselves to study, and accept the award of a board of examiners as the decree of fate. How much of noisy strife is thus averted! How much of that undignified tumult which resembles the howling of wolves after their prey! American writers admit that government by parties must of necessity present some unattractive features, yet they maintain that its outcome is a boon beyond price—the will of the people. Nothing is further from the truth; the fact is that if the majority get their wish, it is in most cases only a happy accident. Party politics is a machine that is usually worked by small minorities. Where two parties are pretty equally divided, a small body of neutrals finds itself in a position to impose its wishes on a State, and through a State on the nation. Thus the Irish vote, numerically insignificant, has been able to influence questions of foreign policy, even to the extent of jeopardizing the friendship of the United States with England. In this way the various classes interested in home production have been able to secure for themselves the benefits of protective legislation; and in the same way the white laborers of the Pacific coast, mostly naturalized foreigners, have succeeded in turning municipal and State authority against competition from China, the Chinese having no vote to give them political importance. The Pacific States once committed to a persecuting policy, the rest were compelled to follow; and a law

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was passed which the Supreme Court has pronounced to be in flagrant violation of our treaty engagements. With that oppressive and unjust law the bulk of the American people have no sympathy; yet neither party dares to raise its voice in opposition, lest by so doing it should imperil the issue of a presidential campaign. With such examples before them, how can the Chinese be expected to admire our system of government?

The course of American politics, we usually acknowledge, is like a stream flowing over shifting sands—liable to get a little muddy and sometimes to change its channel; but in contrast to this we point to our courts of justice, apart from turmoil, inaccessible to bribes, unswerved by the stress of party conflict. The Chinese have studied these courts, and though they can hardly pretend to have mastered the mysteries of their intricate apparatus, it strikes our critics that no system could be more skillfully designed for the purpose of defeating justice. A court consists of three elements—bench, bar, and jury, the second and third apparently serving no other ends than to pervert law and to screen the guilty. In China, where there is neither bar nor jury, the processes of law are not only more expeditious, but, as the Chinese assert, more certain. In their eyes the jury is open to three objections: 1, while the weighing of evidence requires a trained mind, the jurors are chosen at random and are chiefly uneducated men; 2, their verdict is required to be unanimous, making conviction next to impossible in cases that admit of a difference of opinion; 3, to secure impartiality they are required to declare beforehand that they have formed no opinion on the subject; they are accordingly men who either do not read or do not reflect. In addition to these objections, much time is lost in impaneling a jury; and then the judge has to instruct them how to understand the evidence. Why not permit the judge and a couple of assessors to pass on the facts in the first place? It is amusing to an Oriental to learn that these jurors are locked up and deprived of food in order to compel them to agree, and that one man who can endure hunger longer than the others may thereby procure the release of a prisoner. Such is the palladium of our liberties—an institution which ranks among the noblest privileges of Magna Charta!

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As for the bar, in the estimation of the Chinese its theory is thoroughly immoral, and the practice founded on it is a game of trickery and deceit. One of our great writers gives a comical picture of a judge who averred, when he had heard one side, that he could understand the case, but who always suffered from a confusion of ideas when he came to hear the other. The function of a lawyer is to compel a judge to hear the other side. The lawyer, however, is by the rules of his profession permitted to present only a one-sided view of the case. He seeks not the triumph of right, but the success of his client. The opposing counsel strives to determine the court in a contrary direction, and between these contending winds the arrow of justice will not fail to go straight to the mark! Each advocate browbeats the other's witnesses; he lays snares for the unwary; and to weaken their testimony he does his best to ruin their reputations. One who has the gift of eloquence appeals to the sympathies or prejudices of the jurors, who, being unsophisticated men, are liable to be carried away by his oratory. He acquires a name for power over a jury, and the litigant who can offer him the heaviest fee is almost sure to win his suit. What an original scheme for the promotion of even-handed justice!

In some of our courts our visitors see a statue representing a blindfolded goddess holding aloft a pair of scales. That emblem expresses perfectly the Chinese ideal of the character of a judge, but to express ours it ought to exhibit the counsel for the litigants as doing their best by surreptitious means each to turn the scale in his own favor. The task of weighing rival claims in such circumstances must transcend even the powers of a goddess. By means of these aids to justice rogues are set free to prey on society; wills of honest testators are broken; creditors are defrauded of their dues; and, more than all, through this cumbrous machinery the processes of law are rendered so expensive that the poor are deterred from attempting to defend their rights. Whatever else our Chinese visitors may borrow, they are pretty certain not to transplant either bar or jury.

Did space permit, I might point out other phases of western life which strike the mind of an Oriental as paradoxical and ridiculous. Since the foregoing was written, a letter from Mr.

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Yung Wing, the well-known scholar and diplomat, has fallen into my hands, and an extract from it will form a fitting conclusion. Certain zealous Americans had the doubtful taste to invite his assistance in a "convention for promoting the general adoption of republican government." He replied:

> "In view of what the United States government has done, for the past twenty years, in the way of enacting obnoxious laws against the Chinese, and without any provocation flinging insult after insult in the very teeth of the Chinese government, I cannot for the life of me see how republicanism is to become universal, or how the torch of American liberty is to enlighten the eastern races when they are shut out from its light."

This confirms on one point the views given above, and I feel confident that they would meet with similar confirmation in other respects if we could have access to the unpublished reports of the Chinese mission of inquiry.

W. A P. Martin.

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THE FARMER'S CHANGED CONDITION.

DURING my childhood, which was passed on a rocky hillside farm in New England, farmers constituted a class more nearly independent than any other in the community. They were engaged in domestic husbandry, which embraced the care of cultivated fields, pastures, gardens, orchards, and forests. They produced nearly all the food that was necessary for their families. The owner of a small farm not infrequently raised corn, wheat, rye, barley, and buckwheat, as well as potatoes and all kinds of garden vegetables. The sweets for the table were often limited to the sugar and molasses that he made from the sap of the maple, and to the honey collected by his bees. Small game was obtained from the forest, and trout were caught in the streams that flowed among the hills. The lakes afforded larger fish, like perch and pickerel. Every farmer's intention was to raise each needful article of food that the climate and soil enabled him to produce. Even condiments, like pepper, caraway seed, sage, and other sweet herbs, were not below his attention. As a considerable portion of every farm was covered with forest trees of various kinds, the owner was at no expense for fuel or for materials to be used in making fences or in erecting ordinary buildings.

In those times most of the trade of farmers was carried on by barter. Eggs, butter, cheese, and smoked hams were taken by country store-keepers in exchange for groceries, dry goods, and notions. Nearly every farmer went to the seashore once a year, and exchanged apples, cider, potatoes, and garden vegetables for fish. The products of farm, garden, and orchard often paid the salary of the minister, the fees of the doctor, and the subscription price of the newspaper. A thrifty farmer generally managed to have the skins of the animals that he slaughtered at home tanned and dressed on shares, as by so doing he obtained leather for making shoes and boots for his family, without the payment

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of money. Shoe-makers then went from house to house, taking a kit of tools with them and often remaining for several days at a time. In many cases they made their shoe pegs from blocks of birch wood that the farmer had in readiness, used thread that the farmer's wife had spun from flax grown on the farm, and smoothed it with wax saved from the honey comb that had been taken from the bee hive. They were often paid for their services in cord wood, hay, grain, potatoes, butter, cheese, stocking yarn, or other articles that were useful in a family. Tailoresses also went from house to house and cut and made the garments worn by the men and boys. Wheelwrights held themselves in readiness to go to farmers' homes and make the running gear of the ox carts that were then generally employed to draw heavy articles on the farm and to haul them to market. Pump-makers, too, plied their art on farms at the call of the owners.

Every farm house was then a manufactory, not of one kind of goods, but of many. All day long in the chamber or attic the sound of the spinning wheel and loom could be heard. Carpets, shawls, bed spreads, table covers, towels, and cloth for garments were made from materials produced on the farm. Many of these kinds of cloth were marvels of beauty and utility. The kitchen of the house was a baker's shop, a confectioner's establishment, and a chemist's laboratory. Every kind of food for immediate use was prepared there daily; and on special occasions sausages, head cheese, pickles, apple butter, and preserves were made. It was also the place where soap, candles, and vinegar were manufactured. In one of the buildings attached to the house, or near it, the farmer had a workshop in which he made ox yokes, bows for fastening cattle to stanchions, milking stools, the handles for farming tools, and often the tools themselves. Agricultural implements were then few and simple, and farmers made as many of them as they could. There were no commercial dairy establishments then, but every farm house was a creamery and a cheese factory. The apparatus for making butter and cheese was crude, but the skillful housewife understood how to use it so as to turn out good articles. As there were no sewing machines, the farmer's wife and daughters had to ply the hand needle most of the time when they were not engaged in

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more laborious pursuits. During the long evenings they generally knit socks and mittens or made rag carpets.

As has been stated, little money circulated among farmers. In fact, but little was required, except to purchase school books and other articles that could not be obtained by barter, and to pay taxes and postage. Some of the taxes, even, were not paid in money. The highway tax was generally paid in labor, or rather in play. Each farmer was assessed according to the property he owned in the district, and the amount was represented in characters expressing dollars and cents. But he was allowed by the highway surveyor a certain amount for each day during which he, or his son, hired man, or ox team, was employed in repairing the roads. The time thus spent was generally one of quiet enjoyment, and was largely occupied in telling stories and relating gossip. To raise money to pay the State and county taxes, it was generally necessary to sell a fat steer to a person who was making up a drove of cattle to take to the Boston market. In many cases farmers had their postage charged up to them till they could raise money to pay it.

At the time of which I write, no labor-saving machines were used on farms, and all the implements were of the most primitive kind. Indian corn was dropped by hand and cultivated with a hoe. The stalks were cut with a knife, the husks were removed with the fingers, and the kernels were taken from the cob by drawing it across the edge of a shovel blade. All the food grains were harvested with a sickle and threshed with a hand flail, generally on a barn floor. Securing the hay crop was the most tiresome of all operations on the farm, as the grass was cut with a hand scythe, spread out to dry with a hand fork, collected with a hand rake, and then lifted upon a cart, from which it was again lifted to a mow or scaffold. Flax, of which nearly every farmer raised a little, was pulled by hand, spread out by hand to insure the rotting of the woody fiber, and dressed by hand. Inventive ingenuity had then accomplished much in contriving machines to lessen the toil of men who worked in shops and in factories; but it had done next to nothing toward relieving the labor, or lightening the burdens, of the men who labored in the field. Wheat was gathered as in the time of Ruth and Boaz, and the

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grain was beaten out and winnowed as by Roman slaves in the days of Nero. Most of the pastoral scenes described by the writers of the Old Testament, and by Virgil and Agricola, were presented anew every year in New England during the period under consideration. The inventor had not dreamed of machines for planting, cultivating, and harvesting field crops.

There was little of what could be called commercial farming in the northern States at that time. Farmers who were located near the seacoast, or near a navigable river, could always dispose of their surplus products to good advantage and at fair prices. But such was not the case with farmers who lived a long distance from water communications. They could drive their cattle to market, but the price of their grain was consumed in hauling it a hundred miles, while their apples and potatoes would not be accepted as gifts. There was often great scarcity of some product of which there was an abundance in a locality two hundred miles away. Wool was almost the only article that could be transported a long distance without having its price absorbed in the cost of cartage. There were no railroads. The earth roads were poor, and oxen were generally employed to draw farm products to market. At that time toll was exacted for crossing a bridge over any considerable stream. Farmers derived little enjoyment from amusements or recreations during this period; in fact, they had little time to engage in them. Even the few pastimes that were tolerated were combinations of labor with sport, such as corn-huskings, apple-parings, and house-raisings. The women then derived as much enjoyment, perhaps, from a quilting party as those of our day do from a meeting of a Browning club.

At present little remains to remind one of the condition of farmers during the time I have referred to. They now generally occupy the great prairies of the West instead of the hills and valleys of the eastern States. They are no longer engaged in domestic farming. Like manufacturers and the operators of mines, they are producing articles for supplying the market. They buy almost as many things as do persons who live in towns. They do not take their wheat and corn to a custom mill to be converted into flour and meal, but they sell their grain and buy

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the materials to make bread for their families. They have given up raising small products for the supply of their tables, and as a consequence their grocery bills are large. As there are few trees in the prairie regions, and as the area occupied by forests in other parts of the country has been greatly reduced, farmers are compelled to purchase their fuel, which is generally bituminous coal, and to buy all the materials used in the construction of fences and buildings. The owners of many western farms are obliged to buy even pea sticks and bean poles.

The farmer of the present day has no necessity for bartering his products. He has no occasion to use eggs instead of coins when he is making small purchases. Everything he raises commands a price, though it may be small. In many of the western States—Illinois, for instance—nine tenths of the farm houses are within five miles of railway stations, and at most of these stations are grain elevators and yards for holding cattle and hogs till they can be loaded upon stock cars. There is no occasion for a farmer to go to a city market with his stock, grain, wool, or other products. He generally finds it to his advantage to consign them to some commission merchant, thus saving the cost of travel. Whatever he consigns to a stranger or to a stock-yard company will, in the majority of cases, be sold at the highest market price; and the money that he receives, less the freight and commissions, will be promptly remitted to him. In many places persons go about the country securing horses and dairy cows, for which cash is always paid. Still, the average farmer seldom has money in his purse for any great length of time. The sum he receives for his products is generally anticipated. He is ordinarily in debt to the grocer, the dry-goods merchant, and the dealer in agricultural implements. His place is mortgaged, and the interest due on his borrowed money must be paid annually. He often has to make sacrifices on live stock to obtain money to pay his taxes.

The farm house is no longer a manufactory; the sound of the loom and the spinning wheel is never heard in it, and the socks and mittens used by members of the family are not knit at home. If many cows are kept on the place, their milk is generally sent to a creamery or to a cheese factory. The making of can-

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dles, soap, beer, and vinegar, the bleaching of cloth, straw hats, and bonnets, and the dyeing of garments, are numbered among the lost arts of the household. The introduction of machinery has revolutionized almost every branch of work on farms, and has greatly reduced the number of laborers required. In the great grain-producing sections of the country, farming has almost become a sedentary occupation. The soil is turned by a gang plow drawn by four horses, while the driver is mounted on a spring seat covered with a cushion. The sower no longer goes forth to scatter seed which he carries in a bag or basket; he rides on a grain drill and holds the reins that guide a pair of matched bay or chestnut horses, handsome enough to draw a duchess through the streets of London. At harvest time the owner of the wheat fields mounts another cushioned spring seat, shaded by a canopy, and again takes the reins; the self-binding harvester does the rest. Corn is planted, cultivated, husked, and shelled by machines. Haymaking, once the most laborious occupation on the farm, has been rendered the easiest by the introduction of machines that cut the grass, spread it over the surface of the ground, rake it together when it has become dry, raise it upon the wagon, and carry it to the hay loft or stack. The flail has been laid aside with the distaff, the hand loom, and the spinning wheel. The steam-propelled threshing machine surpasses any other labor-saving device ever invented. It is not strange that some Arabs, who saw one devour a dozen grain stacks in a few minutes at a French exposition several years ago, ran from the place, leaped a high fence, prostrated themselves on the ground, turned their affrighted faces toward Mecca, and called on Allah to save them from destruction. These devout sons of the desert were believers in miracles, but they were not prepared for the kind of miracle they had witnessed. It was something more startling than a voice from heaven, than the raising of the dead, and than the visions of Mohammed, the father of the faithful. To their minds it was something opposed to the laws of nature as well as to the spirit of religion.

Still, with all these apparently beneficial changes, with machines to do nearly all the work, with money for their products instead of "store pay," with a market at the door, with more

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leisure and less drudgery, I doubt if farmers are any better contented with their lot, or if they obtain more enjoyment from life, than they did in old times. I also question if they are more prosperous. They are generally in a condition of unrest, if not of discontent. Their social condition has not improved, as has that of mechanics and traders. Most of them are anxious to leave the farm for the store, the shop, the mine, or the locomotive.

The reason for this state of things may be found in the suggestion that changes have been made so fast that farmers have not been able to adapt themselves to them. The farmer is naturally a conservative, but the inventor is a restless agitator. In colonial times, and during the first half of the existence of the nation, the ambition of nearly every man of fair means and education was to become a country gentleman. Many engaged in trade or in ocean transportation that they might acquire the money necessary to purchase, improve, and stock a farm. The love of broad acres, of forests, orchards, horses, cattle, sheep, and stately mansions surrounded by lawns and gardens, was brought by our ancestors from the mother country. It increased on being transplanted to a region where every one could easily acquire land. For more than a century rural life was in almost every respect preferable to urban life; it afforded greater facilities for enjoyment and for physical and intellectual development.

The society of the country was then as refined and cultured as that of the towns. Some of the most distinguished divines preached to congregations composed almost entirely of farmers and their families. Physicians of great repute and ripe scholarship lived in farm houses and visited their rural patients on horseback, carrying their medicines and surgical instruments in saddle bags. Many farmers of large means then employed tutors to instruct their sons and daughters in their homes. The old catalogues of colleges and professional schools show that nearly all the students came from the rural districts. Most of them, on graduating, settled in the neighborhoods where they had spent their childhood and youth. Several of our early presidents were farmers, as were the governors of most of the States. More than one congressional directory shows that the majority of the senators and representatives were farmers; even Daniel Webster and

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Henry Clay took pride in being classed among them. At that time the legislation for States, counties, and towns was the work of farmers. Then a large proportion of the trustees of all the colleges in the country were farmers, or professional men who resided in the country. In short, farmers constituted a class from which men could be selected who were, by virtue of their intellect and learning, competent to fill almost any public position. There was a dignity pertaining to their occupation. They were the owners of landed estates which they occupied and which they intended should be the inheritance of their children. There was as radical a difference between the agricultural class and the floating population of commercial and manufacturing towns as between real and personal property. The former were on their farms to stay, whatever might be the price of goods or the demand for labor. They were interested in all permanent public improvements. They were the pillars that supported the State, for on them rested the burden of taxation.

Before the introduction of railways, the wagon roads of the country were used much more than they are now, being employed not only for the transportation of farm products and manufactured articles, but for general travel. Stages then carried passengers and mails from one large town to another, but most persons who traveled for pleasure rode in their own carriages. As so many travelers passed farms that were located on the public highways, the owners took pride in keeping their land in an attractive condition. They were proud of the appearance of their buildings and of the grounds about them. Farm houses then suggested comfort, refinement, and hospitality.

Roman writers inform us that, at one time in the history of their country, cities became so attractive that farmers of wealth and culture left their estates in the care of others and took up their residences in the places that afforded greater facilities for pleasure. This migration had a most injurious effect on the rural population that remained. The persons who had been leaders in culture and refinement no longer exerted an influence over their former neighbors. They were residents of a city, and they were supported on the money that they drew from the country. The difference between the urban population of Italy and

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its rural population soon became marked. There was one civilization for the towns and another for the country, as was shown by the difference in dress, language, and manner of living. Every boy in the streets of Rome could recognize a countryman at a glance; while a resident of the city was distinguishable by his elegant manners, as well as by his clothing and language, when he visited the country for purposes of business or pleasure. This interesting history was repeated in France just before the revolution. With little doubt, it was the cause of that event. Cities had grown in wealth and power at the expense of the country. The taxes collected from farmers were used for the benefit of those who lived in the towns. For a long time the rural population submitted to constantly-increasing oppressions, but a day came when they rebelled, and in a week they righted the wrongs of many decades.

The migration from country to town commenced in our northern States near the close of the civil war, and it has been steadily increasing till the present time. It has included the most desirable and the least desirable of the inhabitants of the rural districts. It may sound strange to eastern readers, but it is nevertheless true, that in the States of Illinois, Wisconsin, and Iowa more farms have been deserted by their owners than in New Hampshire, Vermont, and Massachusetts. In the New England States owners leave their farms because the labor spent in cultivating them is no longer remunerative, but such is not the case in the prairie regions of the West. There the owners of farms leave them for the reason that they can obtain sufficient rent from tenants to enable them to support their families in towns. Cities in several of the western States contain hundreds of retired farmers. Springfield, Ill., and Janesville, Wis., are good examples of the towns in which these absentee landlords reside. They obtained land at a low price, and improved it with the intention of residing permanently upon it; but when they became independent they divided their farms into small tracts, erected cheap buildings on them, and leased them, generally to persons of foreign birth.

These retired farmers, or absentee landlords, take little interest in maintaining good roads in the townships in which their

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land is situated, or in sustaining schools of a high grade. As a rule they do not even keep up the improvements on their farms or commence new ones. They erect no substantial buildings, plant no orchards and vineyards, and set out no ornamental trees and shrubs. Their farms are worked, as mines and quarries are, for the amount of marketable material they can be made to produce. As their tenants ordinarily lease the land from year to year, they have no interest in making improvements. Occasionally a stately residence, surrounded by lawns and pleasure grounds and affording evidence that it has been recently erected, is still seen in the country; but it is not often the home of a grain-producer or of a general farmer. It is more likely to belong to a breeder of fine stock, to some wealthy man who moved out of the city for the improvement of his health, to a person who is raising fruit or stock as a pastime, or to one of that much-ridiculed, greatly-abused, but very useful class known as "fancy farmers." The successful farmer now defers erecting a house of such a character till he has moved to the town.

Wealthy farmers move to town because they wish better social, educational, and religious advantages than are afforded in the country. The desire for amusements also exerts an influence. When one family of refinement and culture leaves a farming neighborhood, several are likely to follow its example, till finally the desire for agreeable companionship causes nearly every farmer of intelligence and refinement to leave the place which he had fitted up for a home. The result of this is the formation of a distinct peasant class, such as is found in Bavaria and Bohemia. In entire counties in Illinois and Wisconsin the English language is scarcely ever heard outside of the large towns. The church services are conducted in a foreign tongue, and instruction is given in it in the schools. The intellectual condition of the people who occupy farms there is not above that of the lowest class of laborers in our large cities. The townships they inhabit seem like detached portions of central Europe put down near the center of the new world. Nominally these men may be citizens, for town politicians have had them passed through the naturalization mill; but they know little and care less about the institutions of the country

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Farmers have long been losing their place and influence in the councils of the State and nation. Our later Congresses have not contained enough farmers from the northern States to constitute the committees on agriculture. Our national law-makers have known so little about what would promote the prosperity of farmers that they have favored measures that have greatly injured agriculture. They have insisted on developing the national domain in advance of a demand for any more land for cultivation, and they have purchased Indian reservations of great size and have disposed of the land at a price that has scarcely paid the cost of surveying and the expenses of the land offices. By these means they have encouraged tens of thousands of persons to engage in farming who would otherwise have remained in other pursuits. The offer of free land, or of land at a nominal price, has tempted many to leave shops, mines, and vessels, and to engage in agriculture. These have become the competitors of the producers in the old States who had spent much time and money in improving farms. They have overstocked the home and foreign markets with grain, meat, vegetables, fruits, dairy products, and honey, and as a consequence the price of nearly every farm product has declined, sometimes below the cost of the labor required to produce it.

The rural districts have not shared with towns the recent great improvements in the postal service. In large towns, letters and papers are collected and delivered several times each day without cost to those using the mails. There are sub-postal stations as well as a general post office. At each of these, postal notes and money orders are made out and cashed. But in the country the postal facilities are hardly any better than they were a century ago. There are no money-order post offices, except in large commercial and manufacturing towns, and no free collection and distribution of mail matter. If a farmer wishes to mail a letter he must go to the post office, perhaps ten miles away, to do it. If his commission merchant writes him to forward his cattle or grain quickly, as the price is high, the chances are that he will not receive the letter till the market has fallen.

No good reason can be assigned why money orders should not be issued and cashed at every post office in the country. As

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to the free collection and free delivery of postal matter, the people in the rural districts are as much entitled to them as town people are, although the service could not from the nature of things be performed so often in a sparsely-settled region as in a thickly-populated one. The general intelligence of any class largely depends on its facilities for learning what is going on in the world. Favoring one class gives it a special advantage, which in time will produce marked results. Depriving country people of the postal facilities that are enjoyed by those who live in large towns, tends to lower their intellectual standing and to keep it below that of those who live in cities. In nearly all European countries the postal facilities are as good in the rural districts as in the large towns. In several of those countries country people have the advantage of the parcel post and of postal saving banks. They are not slighted because they cultivate farms and vineyards, or raise cattle, sheep, and fowls.

It is plainly the duty of our government to preserve the constantly-diminishing class once known and honored as country gentlemen. They were the fathers of the Republic, and for a long time constituted our true nobility. The little remnant should be preserved and, if possible, increased. The founders of our government never intended to foster absentee landlords and to create an ignorant rural peasantry.

RODNEY WELCH.

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POLITICAL PROGRESS IN JAPAN.

THE people of the United States, having lived longer under a written constitution than those of any other nation, will watch with the keenest interest the imitation of their experiment across the Pacific. Having made common cause with Europe in abolishing feudalism, Japan now purposes to outlive absolutism. Already the Magna Charta given to the people on February 11, 1889, has found expression and response at the polls. Of the 600 members of the two houses of the new Imperial Diet at Tōkiō, 400 are direct representatives of the gentry and the people, and not of the government or the nobles. Further, the government is confronted by a majority, which, if not hostile, is in favor of progress beyond the declared limitation of the imperial prerogative. In a word, the first elections show that the Japanese have taken a long stride toward democracy. "For ages eternal"—counting in the centuries before clocks, almanacs, or writing, together with the mythologic era in which time is so elastic—Japan has been *Tĕi Koku*, or the kingdom ruled by a theocratic dynasty. The miracle play is now about over, the *Kami* are vanishing, and the *demos* is rising. Japan is becoming the land of public schools, of ballots, and of churches owned, organized, and ruled by the people.

Agreeably to the specifications of the imperial ordinance promulgated with the Constitution, the voting lists were begun on April 1, 1890, posted for public scrutiny and correction from May 5 to May 20, and settled on June 15. The national election took place on July 1. The average voter came in his best clothes. In the cities, the costume was usually Japanese on body and limbs and European at the extremities—hat and boots, with crest-embroidered coat and flowing trousers or divided skirt. In the provinces, the archaic top knot, hatless skull, and feet cased in sandals or clogs were more numerous. No reporters were admitted into the voting rooms, though outside were the man of the

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note book, the photograph-peddler, on whose stand were displayed pictures of the rival candidates, and the interested spectator. Within, the constables, clerks, inspectors, servants, and assistant servants were much more numerous than in the American booth or room on election day. The voter removed his foot gear and donned slippers. Producing his passport, he was identified by the clerks, registered his name, and wrote and stamped his ballot, depositing it in a large wooden box. Illiteracy is practically unknown in Japan, though occasionally voters allowed their ballots to be written by the government clerks, on this their first experience, to make sure that no technical error should make their choice void. Judging by the returns as published, more than ninety per cent. of possible voters availed themselves of their privileges. The electorate, composed of males who pay annually fifteen dollars or more in national taxes, numbered 574,308 voters, or about one in seventy of the whole population. The average number of candidates for each seat in the House of Representatives was six, though in the large cities it was much higher, as many as ten, twelve, or fifteen persons contending for one seat.

No one holding the rank of noble can sit in the lower house, the members being all *shizoku* (gentry, or former *samurai*) and *héi min* (commoners). A native editor classifies the 300 elected men as "practical" and "speculative" men. In the former class, numbering 162, are 125 farmers, 36 business men, and one manufacturer. Among the speculative, numbering 138, are 24 lawyers, 16 newspaper writers, five teachers and literary men, four physicians, 19 officials, and 70 others. The practical men are in the majority, and though the proportion of 54 per cent. is not so high as in the British House of Commons, it is superior to that in the American Congress or in the French Assembly. In reality, many of the so-called "farmers" are educated men with a good deal of speculation in their eyes, who have bought large or small land holdings with a view to politics. Some of these practical men and farmers will be first heard from as polished debaters.

Of the 300 representatives elected, eleven are pronounced Christian men, and some of them secured their seats in the teeth of

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the priestly and organized opposition of the Buddhists. Among these are Shimada Saburo, the accomplished editor of the daily newspaper of Yokohama, and the author of probably the ablest historical monograph ever written by a Japanese. Another is Kataoka Kenkichi, the virtual leader of the Patriotic Party. Another is Nakajima Nobuyoki, formerly governor of Kanagawa prefecture. Any one of these men would grace the speaker's chair, and some one of them is likely to fill it. Twenty or thirty of the members are friendly to Christianity or generous supporters of Christian schools and churches, in addition to the eleven who are officers or members of churches, or trustees of schools or colleges. Many of the representatives elect are either graduates of the Imperial University of Tōkiō, or returned students from American and European colleges.

Others who hold seats in the House are Miyagi and Isobé, who have written able works on law; Séki, who translated Disraeli's writings; Suyématsŭ, the poet, translator, and historical student; Amano, the prolific writer on political economy; Nakai, who gave Rousseau's thoughts an English dress; Watanabé, the biographer of Bismarck; and Fujita, who told the story of the martyrs of learning. These men, before Perry came, were hounded to death for doing what wins the laurel in this age when Japan builds the tombs of her slaughtered prophets. Among other speculative men are Ozaki, the stylist who has translated Lord Beaconsfield's novels, written the life of the author, and given much of Herbert Spencer's thought to his countrymen; Suga, whose works on philosophy are pondered by students, while his collections of the world's fairy tales opens our western wonderland to Japanese children; and Seihiro, who has written several political novels, cleverly correlating ancient Greece and contemporaneous Japan, and who may be said to have founded the new school of Japanese fiction, which looks out on Europe rather than on China. In a word, while still the wonder ceases not to grow that certain able men were left out, we are safe in saying that, counting the practical members, fifteen score abler men cannot be found within the four seas that compass the Mikado's empire. In a group of portraits of these men of New Japan, given in a Tōkiō newspaper with their biog-

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raphies, we note but one wearing the ancient top knot. The great majority dress the hair of face and head in modern western style, wear modern garments, and look alive, alert, and earnest. A composite photograph of them would represent a well-built mustached man about 40 years old or under, well equipped in brain and body for hard work, and intent upon doing it.

In the composite House of Peers, so called, are five classes of sitters. The members of the imperial family are nine in number, averaging 43 years old, and take their seats at majority. The princes and marquises enter at the age of 25. Among the princes, whose ages average 39 years, are Iwakura Tomosada, a former student at New Brunswick, N. J., son of the great premier who headed the embassy round the world in 1872; Tokugawa Iyésato, son of the last Tycoon, whose abdication in 1868 ended the duarchy of nearly seven hundred years; Sanjo Sanétomi, the illustrious figure-head of the government established on the ruins of the dual system; and three representatives of the renowned southern clans that once tried to fight the whole civilized world at Shimonoséki and the British squadron at Kagoshima, Satsuma having two ex-*daimiōs*, and Chōshiu one former head of the clan, sitting as princes. There are, besides, six former *kugé*, or court nobles of immemorial lineage.

In the company of 21 marquises, who average 42 years of age, are nine ex-*daimiōs*, eight former *kugé*, two young nobles of the "new creation" of late years, and one ex-king—Sho-tai. This kinglet of Riukiu (Loo Choo islands) was ten years old when Commodore Perry invited himself into the palace of Sho-tai's father, at Shudi. Among the ex-*daimiōs* we find three from the great Tokugawa family who ruled in Yedo from 1604 to 1868 as "temporal emperors," as the unrevised geographies say; two former ministers to European countries; and two sons of leaders in the restoration of 1868. One of these bears the illustrious name of Okubo, who was assassinated in 1878, and the other that of Kido; their sires were called respectively the "brain" and the "pen" of the movement which made new Japan.

The third class of members of the House of Peers consists of counts, barons, and viscounts, who are chosen by members of their respective orders. The election took place on July 15, at

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the Nobles' Club, at Uyéno, in Tōkiō, the polls being open from six o'clock in the morning until noon. A majority of the nobles voted in person, and a few by proxy, while others were absent from the city or country. Out of 74 counts, 15, the number eligible, were chosen. Among these are six ex-*kugé*, six ex-*daimiōs*, and three nobles of the new creation of 1884. Well known to Americans and the outside world are Ito Hirobumi, in 1862 a runaway student in London and from 1885 to 1889 the premier or minister-president of state, who may almost be called the father of the Japanese Constitution; Matsukata Masayoshi, minister of finance, whose son is at the Yale law school; and the son of Ii Kamon no Kami, who was assassinated in 1861 for making a treaty with the American minister, Townsend Harris, without the Mikado's consent. Of the 87 barons, 20 were elected. Among these are 10 nobles of the new creation of 1884, four Buddhist ex-priests of noble birth, two Shintō priests, two ex-court nobles, and two of the old *daimiō* class. Nearly all the men of this grade are in government employ. Of the 297 viscounts, 70 were elected. In this group we find some of the most interesting characters in the Japanese peerage. Twenty-seven are ex-*daimiōs* of the smaller fiefs, the same number are former *samurai* newly raised to the peerage, while a dozen more are ex-court nobles. Proportionately more numerous in this grade of peers than in any other are the rising men of promise and ability. Many of them have been envoys to European courts, are high officers in the army, navy, senate, or privy council, are eminent in law, literature, statesmanship, or education, or are otherwise active in contemporaneous enterprise. Many others have made an honorable record in the past. In a word, along with nobles of lineage extending into the prehistoric ages, are newer wearers of titles who form the flower of the political intellect of Japan. Now come to honor, fame, and power are scores of men who in the old days of repression, before 1868, were under ban, often outlawed, and in many instances inmates of prisons, for their political opinions. Those days, within the remembrance of many young men, seem like ancient history.

The fourth class is composed of men who, on account of their eminent abilities, influence, or character, are nominated by the

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Mikado to sit for life. As the number of nominated and elected men is limited to that of the total number of members holding titles of nobility, the Emperor calls to service with the peers about one hundred men from the three estates of the realm.

The fifth class is a group of men each of whom is chosen by the fifteen highest tax-payers in a prefecture or imperial city; 45 in all. The elections held on July 10 resulted in the choice of one noble, 11 *shizoku*, or gentlemen, and 33 commoners; or, 22 farmers, 16 merchants, and seven of various other occupations.

The government of the empire during the last twenty years has been practically a close corporation of the clansmen of Satsuma and Chōshiu. Whatever the outward appearance of things has been, or whatever names may have been given to the political edifice, the fact remains that the "Sa-chō" has been the real possessor of the government and of the imperial person. With occasional help or tolerance from men in other clans, Tosa, Hizen, or Suruga, these men of one locality have ruled ably, it must be confessed, if not always wisely. The changes in the ministry heretofore have been mainly in each case new shufflings of the old cards. Now parliamentary government is instituted with the idea of breaking up forever this close corporation, consisting mainly of men of two clans; just as feudalism was broken and as absolutism will be broken. Nevertheless, in the House of Peers the Satsuma clan, with 13 members, and the Chōshiu clan, with 15, form an element of notable influence. The united force of the two clans, great as it is in intellect, is in *personnel* equal to one fifth of the total number of peers having seats. Such undue influence of men from certain sections, in whom the passionate instincts of clanship are still very strong, furnishes one example out of many of the danger of making too close comparisons between Japanese politics and those of America, or even those of Europe. Until the last traces of this menacing relic of feudalism shall be swept away, representative government in Japan will be a sham, and government by party, or an administration based on real public sentiment, will be an impossibility.

Even yet parties in Japan are not, like those in England and the United States, founded upon definite issues. They are still in a formative state, the element of formation being mainly per-

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sonal influence. The Independent, Conservative, and Patriotic Parties, and the various fragments of the Radical Party, can be better understood by the men who lead them than by their own professions, so far as they have been enunciated. At the elections in July, 1890, eight distinct parties were named and discriminated. There are now only Independents, Conservatives, Radicals, and Progressives. On August 25 four sections of the Radical Party met and consolidated, becoming the Constitutional Liberal Party. Their platform is: 1, maintenance of the honor of the Crown and promotion of popular rights; 2, in domestic government the removal of the policy of interference, and in foreign relations the conclusion of treaties of full equality; 3, the inauguration of really representative government and of a cabinet controlled by the dominant party. All parties, except the Conservative, seem committed to the idea of enlarging the electorate and to that of increasing popular rights. Beyond this point, while representative institutions are still in the experimental stage, it would be idle to attempt further to interpret the elections.

Strictly speaking, the Japanese still live under a limited monarchy that has control of the national treasury. The Imperial Diet can as yet dictate concerning only one seventh of the revenue. The government, by Article LXVII. of the Constitution, legally manages 72,220,217 out of the 84,551,310 *yen* of the budget. The most ardent Radical must for the present content himself with the thought that revolutions never go backward. Nevertheless, against a coalition of Radicals, Progressives, and Independents, if one should be formed, no government could make a stand; and such a coalition is by no means impossible.

From a social and economic point of view, the formation of an Imperial Diet in Japan is a mighty stimulus to the acquisition of wealth. Probably no more clever stroke for directly encouraging the people to get rich could have been taken by the Mikado and his advisers. The art of money-making will now become the first of modern Japanese arts.

WILLIAM ELLIOT GRIFFIS.

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THE GOVERNMENT AND THE INDIANS.

MUCH has been said and written as to the best means of solving what is popularly known as the "Indian problem," and in the attempted solutions of that question the instances are not few where counsel has been darkened by words. Much that has been done in reference to the American red man seems to lack a recognition of the fact that he is a man. I do not deny that in his native state he is a rude, untutored, uncultivated savage; but still he is a man, and it is recorded upon authority from which no successful appeal can be taken that God "hath made of one blood all nations of men." That he is susceptible of cultivation, civilization, and refinement, by the same means and through the same influences that have produced these results in the white race, cannot be successfully controverted, because it is now being demonstrated daily in several of the educational institutions of the country, notably in those at Carlisle and Hampton.

A proper understanding of this question cannot be arrived at without considering the action of the national authorities in reference to the Indians. Ends are accomplished by means. If the means employed are not adapted to the ends sought, failure must be the result. For many years after the government took charge of the physical and financial affairs of the Indians, it was accustomed to furnish them with red and yellow paint, and with whisky and scalping-knives; consequently their progress toward civilization was not rapid. Many good people, who thought that all Indians are bad, except dead ones, had no objection to the free use of public money for the purpose of furnishing them with these articles, because the happy hunting grounds might thus be rapidly populated, and our country might be left in the possession of the descendants of the pilgrim and the cavalier. The Indian seemed to favor this plan, for he took kindly to the white man's liquor and was skillful in the use of the scalping knife. As a consequence, his progress was back-

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ward instead of forward, and the prospect seemed favorable for the closing of the Indian question by the extinction of the race.

Even now, the most formidable enemy the Indian has to contend with, the greatest obstruction in his road to civilization and pecuniary independence, is the intoxicating liquor which he obtains from white men. The law now says that it shall not be furnished to him, but the penalty for violating the law amounts in most cases to no penalty at all. The act prescribes "a fine of not more than three hundred dollars and imprisonment for not more than three years" for its violation. The practical effect has been that, after the offender has been arrested, tried, and convicted, the punishment has in most cases been so light as to be no terror to the violator. When from $100 to $500 has been expended in prosecuting an offender to conviction, and he has been fined one dollar and imprisoned for one day, as has been the case sometimes, it is very evident that this worst of all evils in the Indian country will not be cured by the method now employed, for this is so broad a farce as to be justly ridiculed and despised by the violator. An effectual remedy would be to make a three-hundred-dollar fine and three years' imprisonment the minimum penalty instead of the maximum. This view of the case has been repeatedly urged upon the law-making power by the Indian office; and some of the Indians themselves, seeing the demoralizing and ruinous effects of the liquor traffic among their people, have appealed to the government to put a stop to it. One Indian, in his appeal for help, said:

"We don't make whisky ourselves, and we tell our young men not to drink it; but we can't prevent them so long as white men sell it to them. We don't know how to make the white man take his whisky away, but the great men at Washington do. We hope they will help us."

The help of the "great men at Washington" has not yet been extended very promptly. What must an Indian think of a Christianity that allows such practices and produces such fruit? One quart of whisky, years ago, caused the Bannock war, which cost large sums of money and the lives of many innocent persons. In a contest between a missionary and a barrel of whisky among the Indians, the missionary is sure to be conquered so long as the whisky lasts; and inasmuch as there are

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more barrels of whisky than missionaries, it is not difficult to predict the result. But when the Indian becomes crazed with the white man's liquor and commits some depredation against the latter's life or property, the Indian is punished and the white man goes unwhipped of justice. This, to the Indian, looks like discriminating against him, and is not calculated to give him an exalted opinion of the white man's manner of dealing. He knows that the white man is the cause of all the wrong, and he knows that the Indian gets all the punishment.

Another very important matter connected with the dealings of the government with the Indians, which has received little or no attention in the past, is the practice of making allowances of large fees, to be paid by Indians to attorneys for collecting claims against the government. The government is supposed to be the guardian of the Indians, and as such is clearly under obligation to guard their interests and to protect them in their rights. But under Section 2,103 of the Revised Statutes, the practice has been followed for years of approving contracts by which outside parties have taken from the Indians hundreds of thousands of dollars. If the government, acting as guardian, owes the Indians money or property, or holds either in trust for them, the plainest dictates of common sense and common honesty require that the wards should not be compelled to suffer loss in order to obtain from the guardian their just dues.

During the four years ending October 10, 1883, agreements were entered into between Indians and different attorneys, and were approved by the government, by which these attorneys were to receive from the Indians $755,221.28 for collecting from the government money said to be due to its wards. Now it is very certain that, if money is due to any tribe of Indians, this fact can be ascertained by some officer of the government who has access to all the accounts, and to all the treaties and laws made in pursuance thereof, as readily as by any other person; and it is certainly the duty of the government to see that the Indians receive, free of cost, what is justly due to them, and that no unjust claim is paid. The report of 1883, which condemned this practice, recommended at the same time that provision be made by law for the appointment of a competent person

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to attend to all cases of this kind. This would save hundreds of thousands of dollars to the Indians, and would do no wrong to any one; but for some unexplained reason the recommendation has failed to receive favorable consideration, and this feature of the business will probably trail along in the old ruts until we shall learn that age does not sanctify error.

Most people are under the impression that we are paying large sums of money every year out of the public treasury for the support of the Indians. It will doubtless be a surprise to such to learn that a very large part of the money appropriated by Congress for the Indian service belongs to the Indians and is held in trust for them, and that we are, to that extent, merely giving them their own. The regular Indian bill generally appropriates about $5,000,000; but after deducting the money which the government only holds in trust, and the necessary expenses of transportation and distribution, it will be found, by a careful examination of the accounts, that the Indians get from the government for their subsistence only about $7 per capita yearly, or a fraction less than two cents a day. The pay of the army amounts to about $1,000 per annum for each soldier, and the principal business of the soldiers is to prevent Indian outbreaks. We thus limit the Indian to two cents a day for food, making him sufficiently hungry and desperate to commit some depredation, that the soldier may have something to do to earn his pay. This we dignify with the title of statesmanship; but from a common-sense, business standpoint, it looks very much like saving at the spigot and wasting at the bung.

Some years ago, through the influence of persons who do not believe that whisky and scalping-knives are promotive of Christian civilization, a change was made in the treatment of the Indians. Under the new *régime* agricultural implements have been substituted for weapons, and the Indians are beginning to learn that men can be strong, courageous, and useful without red and yellow paint. As a consequence, their faces have lost some of their fierce aspect, and have gained much in cleanness and decency. In this new character a very large majority of them are much more proud of being considered industrious and peaceable citizens than they once were of being called "braves."

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The gospel of soap and water is a powerful auxiliary in leading them in the pathway of civilization. As one of the results of this change of policy, the Indians are being transformed from roving nomads into tillers of the soil; and up to this date 23,370 patents and 1,286 certificates of allotment of land have been issued to them, representing something more than 2,000,000 acres. Several hundred thousand acres of this land are under cultivation, and the Indians are following the plow instead of the chase; while 15,000 Indian children are in school, learning the lessons that are learned by the white man's children, and learning them in the same manner and with the same results.

Much of the country occupied by the Indians is better adapted for grazing than for raising grain. Experience has shown that the Indians are able and willing to care for cattle, and in order to encourage them in that business, the government, between the years 1878 and 1882, furnished to the Indians at the different agencies 13,264 head of cattle. Since that time about 3,000 more have been given to various tribes. These cattle have been so well cared for, and the increase has been so great, that, according to the annual report for 1889, the number of cattle now owned by the different tribes is 153,774. The policy of the government is to encourage the increase of the number, so that, in the near future, tame cattle and civilized Indians may take the place of wild buffaloes and roaming savages.

Just at this time the attention of the public is being called to what seems to be a conflict of authority between the government of the United States and the Cherokee Indians, in reference to the occupancy of what is known as the Cherokee Strip, or "Outlet." By the treaties of January 7, 1818, and February 27, 1819, the Cherokees surrendered to the government all the land to which they held title in Arkansas. In consideration of this, the government, by a treaty made on March 6, 1828, granted to the Cherokees 7,000,000 acres in Indian Territory, and on December 31, 1838, a patent of title was issued to these Indians for this land. The government thereby relinquished all claim to the tract except the right to repurchase it at a certain price, in whole or in part, at any time, for the settlement thereon of friendly Indians, but for no other purpose. It would seem, then, that the

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government has no shadow of title or right of control to any of this land, except for the single purpose named and upon the condition specified. This view as to the occupancy of the land has always heretofore been held by the authorities. In accordance with the treaty several tribes of Indians have been settled on the tract, and the Cherokees have been paid, as was agreed, for the land thus occupied. For many years the Cherokees have used that part of the land which has not been disposed of to friendly Indians, amounting now to about 6,000,000 acres, for grazing; they have also leased part to outside parties for the same purpose, and from this source have realized a considerable income. Now the government says that this land shall not be so used, and the cattle grazing there have been ordered off, so that the Indians have been left without revenue and without redress. The Indians think that if a white man had held this land by a patent title such as they have, his right to control it for legitimate purposes would probably not have been called in question, and they feel that they are the victims of injustice.

On April 10, 1883, in compliance with instructions from Secretary Teller, rules and regulations were prepared in the office of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, prohibiting the sun dance, the scalp dance, the war dance, polygamy, theft, etc., and also providing for the organization at each agency of a "Court of Indian Offenses," composed of Indians, and empowered to try all cases of infraction of these rules. The result of this experiment has been beneficial beyond the hopes of its most sanguine friends. The annual reports of the different Indian agents for the year 1884 speak in the highest terms of the good effect produced by these courts. I am able in this article to quote only one of the many reports on this subject, which runs as follows:

"The court has done good work during the past year in correcting error and crime The following is a list of cases passed upon by said court: Drunkenness, 17 cases; fine for same, $168.25. Theft, three cases; fines, $25. Wife-beating, two cases fines, $23. Plurality of wives, one case; fine, $20. Disorderly conduct, one case, fine, $10. Contempt of court, one case; fine, $10. Whole amount of fines, $256.25, all of which were paid."

It must be remembered that these Indian judges were selected from the tribe whose offenses were to be passed upon, and also

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that they served without any compensation. It is worthy of notice that, without a single exception, their decisions met the approval of the Indians as well as that of the white agents of the government.

The records of few constabulary organizations, in any part of the country, present a more favorable showing for faithfulness and impartial performance of duty than those of the Indian police. A large majority of the cases upon which the police are called to act are offenses committed by their own race; they are hedged in by regulations which so abridge the freedom to which they have been accustomed as to gall and chafe them continually; and many of the rules to which they are subject forbid practices and customs which are to them a religion, and neglect of which, they believe, will result in disaster and death. Under these circumstances, the faithfulness and impartiality with which they have performed their duties entitle them to the highest commendation. It matters not who the offender is—he may be chief or young warrior, Indian or white man, friend or foe—when the Indian police are ordered to make an arrest, there is no flinching from duty. In appointing this force, the Indian office requires that its members shall be men of unquestioned energy, courage, and self-control, vigorous in health, good horsemen, and good shots with rifle and pistol. They must also be well acquainted with the topography of their reservation, and must be so well informed as to the appearance of the cattle, wagons, and all other property belonging on it, as to be able to identify them wherever they may be found. They must patrol the district assigned to them; give immediate notice of the arrival of strangers on the reservation; obtain all possible information about thefts of timber, cattle, and horses, and about squatters and liquor-sellers in the vicinity; and must vigilantly watch the movements of all suspicious characters and report the same. They must also report all marriages, deaths, and cases of severe illness or accident, and must be ready for special service at any time. They are compelled to furnish and feed their own horses, and they often ride hard on a trail for days at a time—all for a compensation of about thirty cents a day.

It is worthy of special notice that in the present wild craze

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among some of the Indians, who are led and controlled by a few crafty and reckless individuals, the Indian police have been, as a rule, reliably loyal to the government; and it is worthy of notice also that those Indians who have been employed upon lands allotted to them in severalty, or as teamsters, have not followed the advice of Sitting Bull or any of his reckless companions. It is not part of my business to criticise any of the actions of the government; but I may be allowed to suggest that it is much better policy to feed the Indian up to the limit of his honest claims while he behaves himself, than to starve him until he fights, and then to feed him to pacify him, as some people now propose to do.

Since the plow and the sickle have, to a great extent, driven the tomahawk and the scalping knife from the field, thousands of Indians have learned that labor is ennobling and not degrading, and are beginning to see the dawn of a brighter future, where they may stand side by side with those whose aim is to make the world wiser and better.

HIRAM PRICE.

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SAVERNAKE, VIRGINIA.

BUENA VISTA, next to Roanoke, is the strongest of the new Virginian towns. Savernake, lying south, adjoins Buena Vista, and is, one might say, simply an extension of that place.

It takes its name from the country seat of the company's president, Lord Henry Brudenell Bruce, M.P., of England.

With the exception of the residence of the manager, Col. Thomas Dunlap, there are no buildings to speak of on the Savernake property. It is proper here to say that eighteen months ago no town building, outside of Roanoke, had been started anywhere along the valley of Virginia from Shenandoah Junction to Salem. The whole stretch of valley was just like Savernake now is, except, of course, the picturesque old towns that to-day look like ruins by the side of the new offshoots.

Concerning the forces that have sent men rushing to this particular part of the South for the purpose of building new towns, Colonel Dunlap says:

"When I began to talk iron twenty years ago in Virginia, the bankers told me that if that was the burden of my song they could not see their way clear toward giving accommodation. One of those bankers to-day is among the most enthusiastic iron men of the State." This rule will hold, that though the mineral possibilities of Virginia have been for a long time known of by experts, yet laymen in Virginia have been difficult of persuasion. But conviction seems to be epidemic now, and Buena Vista is one of the results.

This town, to say the truth, somehow overturns the methods of calculation of critical observers. It is eighteen months old, with four thousand inhabitants and about seven millions of capital already invested in live plants. I do not enumerate these plants, because a list may be obtained upon application.

But the whole town is in full blast, just as is the furnace which is turning out 100 tons of "pig" per day.

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SAVERNAKE, VIRGINIA.

This preliminary mention of Buena Vista has been made because while the Savernake property had been developed for six months for its minerals, the rapid growth of Buena Vista was probably the principal cause that led to dividing it up into lots. The property is owned and controlled by an English corporation, under the title of the Loch Laird Estate and Mineral Company (Limited). Capital £35,000, in 35,000 shares of £1 each.

The officers are as follows: DIRECTORS:

Lord Henry Brudenell Bruce, M.P., 36 Eaton Place, S.W.
Samuel Saddington, Esq. (Saddington & Co.), 30 Lime Street, E. C.
R. W. Clarke, Esq. (Saddington & Co.), 30 Lime Street, E.C.
C. W. M. Wilson, Esq., 153 Fenchurch Street, E.C.
} London.

Thomas Dunlap, Esq., managing director, Loch Laird, Va.; P. O., Triford, Va.

Loch Laird is the railway station, but Triford is the post-office of Mr. Dunlap, the manager.

BANKERS.—The Capital and Counties Bank, Limited, 39 Threadneedle Street, E.C., London.

AUDITORS.—Messrs. J. Dix Lewis, Cæsar & Co., 85 Gresham Street, E.C., London.

The company owns now about 1,200 acres of land, situated near to the Loch Laird Station, on the line of the Shenandoah Valley and Chesapeake and Ohio railroads, in Rockbridge County, Virginia, containing rich manganese, iron, farm and timber lands.

The manganese deposit is of great value. There is a vein running through the property more than a mile in length. It has been opened at each end and at two places between, and shows continuity throughout.

The *shew* has been highly indorsed by one of the most experienced manganese drillers in the United States.

Machinery is now being erected to wash one hundred tons daily and a force of fifty miners will be employed. A mill for grinding this manganese is in course of erection and will form a valuable addition to the industries of Savernake.

In addition, brick clay is found of very superior quality, which will supply an extensive pressed-brick factory turning out fifty thousand pressed brick daily.

Fire clay, kaolin, silica (for refractory brick for furnace linings), hydraulic cement (of the same grade as the celebrated James River cement), magnesite, and many other rare and valuable minerals are found. Their presence will necessarily attract a working population.

ANALYSIS OF MANGANESE.

Metallic manganese,	50.00
Iron,	1.80
Silica,	2.32
Phosphorus,	0.19

ANALYSIS OF PROF. F. A. GENTH, of Philadelphia, February 3, 1890.

Silica,	4.71
Metallic manganese,	56.98
Iron,	0.23
Phosphorus,	0.067

The phosphorus here is lower than anywhere in the United States, even at Crimora.

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SAVERNAKE, VIRGINIA.

There are also five veins of iron which are about a mile in length, from 8 to 40 feet wide, and yielding 56 per cent iron. The property being close to two railroads, ore can be delivered to any part of the United States and is readily salable at a price to show about $2 per ton profit, and 40 tons per day would be a small output.

Of the 1,200 acres embraced in the property, 300 acres are now laid out in town lots. At the first sale 1,100 of these lots were sold, 700 having been taken by a syndicate, and these 700 have been resold at over 200% advance. But the company is reserving most of the lots. The purpose has not been to sell lots, but to develop minerals and to build up an industrial town.

The plants thus far secured are as follows: The Savernake Tin and Tin-plate Company, with a subscribed capital of one million dollars will turn out about 8,000 boxes of tin-plate per week, employing in its various departments about 500 hands.

The Savernake Pressed Brick Company, capital $30,000, will employ 30 to 50 men.

The Savernake Manganese Grinding Mill, capital $30,000, will employ at the mines and mill about 100 men.

The Savernake Agricultural Steel Works, capital $150,000, will employ about 100 men.

The Savernake Metal Working Company (malleable iron and hardware fittings), with a capital of $750,000, will employ about 350 men.

The Savernake Cement Works, capital $30,000, will employ about 75 people.

A muck bar rolling mill, with a capacity of 30 tons single or 60 tons double—*i.e.*, if run night and day—will employ 75 to 100 people; capital $75,000.

The Savernake Chemical Works, to manufacture agricultural chemicals, with a large capital and employing a number of people.

An electric street railway, to extend from the northern end of the city of Buena Vista to the southern end of Savernake, about four miles in length, has been organized and will be built in the near future.

The Loch Laird Estate and Mineral Company (Limited) have also entered into arrangements to furnish an ample supply of pure water for all household purposes.

Thus it will be seen that at least 1,000 workmen will be employed who will need homes for the four or five thousand who will constitute their families, to say nothing of the many who will be drawn hither for commercial reasons.

The tin-plate enterprise mentiond above, in the words of Colonel Dunlap, is for the present the "battle-horse" of Savernake. It is backed by capitalists from England, Philadelphia, Ohio, Illinois, and Virginia. When finished Colonel Dunlap says that it will be the finest plant of its kind in the United States.

It will own its own tin mines in Virginia near the works. It will produce tin at an economy of cost equal to a considerable profit. It will manufacture its own steel and steel plate for tinning on the spot, and the output will be the result of direct processes from the ore. The plant will, therefore, be situated in Virginia and complete in its resources from Virginia.

This company is secure in the ownership of the patent most successful in tinning, known as the single pot tinning process. It owns another patent also, the Lake French patent for cleaning the plates after turning, which obviates all hand labor. This very matter of hand labor has heretofore been the greatest drawback to the manufacture of tin-plate in the United States. These works will be under the management of experienced tin-plate manufacturers of Wales.

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SAVERNAKE, VIRGINIA.

The expectation of the Loch Laird Company is to have very soon $2,000,000 of capital in industries, and the policy is so to select those industries as to make the finished product of one the raw material of another.

The general intent and attempt of the management is to secure only such industries as will insure this end, so that the whole group of industries taken together may be, in Western parlance, an industrial "round-up" in themselves.

These facts and the outlook are given on the authority of Colonel Dunlap, who in the midst of his talk referred to the novelty of a finance company, of which more in detail presently. Some towns that deserve to be strong are failing to-day because the managers are "at sea." But Mr. Dunlap, an English gentleman, has been in Virginia for more than twenty years, and he came here well equipped as a mining engineer. He is a man of wide range and broad gauge in the best sense. Even his earliest prophecies have been wonderfully fulfilled. Mr. Dunlap's wide range of information includes the whole industrial situation—not only in Virginia, but in other parts of the South as well. His correspondents include men famous in practical affairs the world over, who seek his advice concerning the possibilities of a section where he has spent years with constant application.

But what about this finance company? Mr. Dunlap proposes to form in the North a company for the purpose of backing not only the town of Savernake, but also all the industries that go there. This is a want that has been long felt in Virginia—that is, of an organization to organize sub-organizations, such as furnishing money to industries, constructing companies, and the like. The capital of the company will be $500,000, and it will be organized with reference to Savernake. Colonel Dunlap will soon make a trip North to get the matter in shape.

"But our great hold down here," said Colonel Dunlap, "is manganese, which is better than that from the Crimora mines, and which is found here in basins just as there."

"But don't you think that the whole valley must be full of mineral wealth?"

"Undoubtedly, from Salem and beyond to Basic City."

In that answer is contained the whole story of the gradual packing in of people all along the line.

The exhaustless fertility of this famous valley of Virginia and its varied and changing scenery are well known; its purity of climate brings eastern Virginia flocking hither during the summer months; its mineral waters are famous the country over, and along its sweep I believe Virginia will ultimately find her way out of the proud bondage of her poverty into a prouder position of wealth—prouder because that wealth will have come after long years of patient research on the part of men who believed that there was to be a rich outcome and whose faith and labor have proved all they claimed and more.

Another article about Savernake will appear in the March COMMERCIAL FORUM, in which new points of interest will be told.

Those readers, however, who wish information such as is not given in this brief sketch would do well in the mean while to address Col. Thomas Dunlap, Manager, Triford P. O., Virginia.

W. E. CHRISTIAN.

P. S.—Savernake may be reached by taking the Shenandoah Valley Railroad or the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad either for Loch Laird Station or for Buena Vista. It would be better to go to Buena Vista and thence drive to Savernake half an hour away.

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SALEM, VIRGINIA.

AMONG all the new towns in Virginia, Salem has never faltered once. Properly speaking, Salem did not begin its present activity until March, 1890, and from that time there has been a rapid and steady advance in house-building.

This feature of house-building has been a special one with Salem, and more than all else has served to prove the value of lots not built upon; for in every case the new house plus the lot have together been worth more than the cost of the house plus the cost of the lot. Moreover, in not a single instance has the income from the building failed to command in the shape of rent as much at least as ten per cent. gross. In the majority of instances the income has been larger.

This matter of house-building has been one neglected in many towns, and to their injury, simply because the managers have been engaged in the heavier work of plant-getting and financiering. In the case of Salem the whole work has been so thoroughly organized that no department is neglected, and thus the increase of population is met with a corresponding increase of houses.

This increase of houses has not been rapid enough, it is true, but the work is taking better shape day by day, and soon it is hoped the house accommodations will be great enough for the population. At a fair calculation, building has gone on in Salem at the rate of a house a day, and all in response to the demands of those who have come.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the plants here, which have been enumerated before in these pages.

The character of the houses built in Salem is to be considered, too. They are not mere "shanties," as in some new towns. Many of the residences are handsome structures and nearly all are neat and attractive buildings. Besides the splendid Hotel Salem, costing, complete, about $100,000, and the new bank building, costing, complete, nearly $20,000, there are many other large brick buildings for stores going up on College Avenue, which has been macadamized at an expense of $9,000.

Let any one go about Salem and he will be impressed by the solidity of what he sees. Very little is seen for mere show; everything is built for good service.

Whatever fears may have been felt recently in large financial centres of the effect of money stringency on Southern progress, one thing is certain—there is nothing but advance all along the line here. There have been no dissensions in Salem, but all the companies have worked in harmony, and as a proof of their single-mindedness they have together put aside more than half a million dollars for manufactories.

This proves more than single-mindedness; it proves that there is money here, which is the key-note of the song of advancement.

The Salem Development Company, under the management of Col. A. M. Bowman, president, have built up their property with a deft and liberal hand, touching up the hill-slopes with beauty and strengthening the level lands with solid improvement.

Next month more facts will be reported. Meanwhile Col. A. M. Bowman, President Salem Development Company, Salem, Va., will give prospectors and inquirers full information.

The following from the New York *Star* is especially applicable to Salem:

"It is a remarkable fact that the recent financial and business disturbances seem to have had less effect on the South than any other section of the country."

Again, from the Chattanooga *Tradesman:* "One of the most interesting features of the money panic which began simultaneously in London and New York about November 10th was its effect on the South and Southern affairs, general and speculative. The significance of this has been heightened by the general impression abroad that many of the larger new towns, manufacturing and similar ventures in the South that took shape in 1889 and early in 1890, were based largely on 'wind'

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and 'future prospects.' It was too generally supposed that should a 'tight' money market appear many of these enterprises would collapse, pulling down in their fall merchants, banks, and small investors in one common ruin. Nothing of the kind has happened."

Many similar extracts might be made from other journals of wide influence.

STAUNTON, VIRGINIA.

SINCE the last article in THE COMMERCIAL FORUM about Staunton was written, the country has gone through a kind of financial night-sweat, and yet, strange to say, Virginia has suffered nothing noticeable; certainly not as far as the industrial town movement is concerned.

The situation has rather been one of cautious watching only, for the banks have had money, and the situation has at the bottom been a safe one.

Virginia has simply "lain-low and said nuthing."

All this applies to Staunton, and here, as in other towns, the steady, silent work of plant-getting has gone on constantly.

The programme as mapped out by the Staunton Development Company has been carried out so far to the letter, and the work is going on steadily for the first sale set for the spring.

The stock books were closed December 20th, and the drawing of lots will take place some time in March.

As noted before, each two shares of stock will draw one lot.

Meanwhile those plants already secured are taking shape, which were mentioned in detail in THE COMMERCIAL FORUM for January.

In order to have facilities for the completed manufactories, the belt line of railway is building between the Baltimore and Ohio and the Chesapeake and Ohio railroads; and recently negotiations have been made for new plants, embracing a wagon-wheel factory, two knitting mills, and a brick plant, the last to employ a capital of some $30,000 and to turn out 40,000 bricks per day.

The maps have been finished and are ready for delivery to such as may apply for them either to Mr. M. Erskine Miller or Mr. Wm. J. Perry, secretary. The handsome illustrated pamphlet also is now ready.

About this it is proper to say that this souvenir of Staunton is the handsomest piece of work of its kind in the South, either as regards its literary quality or as regards the one hundred views that it contains. It is a work of art in every way.

Another large roller mill, the third one, will soon be finished, and three or four building companies will begin putting up houses on the company's property as soon as they can get land allotted to them.

It is worth while mentioning that the system of street-car lines here will soon be changed from "horse" to "electric," the electric company to supply power also to those who may wish it for small plant machinery. Plans for a daily paper are rapidly taking shape and will soon be issued. Everything is proceeding smoothly and to the satisfaction of all concerned.

President M. Erskine Miller, after months of wonderful labor and energy and foresight, has his work well in hand at last, and only awaits the opening of the spring to have the curtain lifted. As Mr. Miller remarked, "the situation is volcanic, full of potentiality, and the spring will see the opening of the crater," not for devastation, but for an issue of splendid results. This is the outlook, in fact, not only of Staunton, but of the whole of the new Virginia.

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(In correspondence please mention the Forum.)

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This company has secured an option on $50,000 of the Capital Stock of The City Real Estate Trust Company of Kansas City, Mo. This is an assured 6 1-2 per cent. regular dividend paying stock, and it is believed the profits in excess of this dividend will double the value of the stock inside of five years. This stock is offered at par and may be paid for in instalments of 25 per cent. each. We believe it to be a meritorious investment stock and advise an early purchase.

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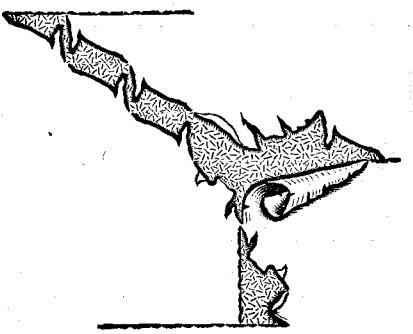

That it has GAINED since 1880 a greater population than any other city in the State possesses, and that with a single exception it is the foremost live-stock market, and packing point in the world, are, with its location, weighty reasons why it is a desirable place for both labor and capital.

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NATIONAL BANK STOCK.
8 per cent. Dividends. Free of Taxes.
SEND FOR CIRCULARS.
UNION INVESTMENT CO.,
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References:—
American National Bank, Kansas City, Mo.
Kansas City Savings Bank and Safe Deposit Co.

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We deal in Mortgage Loans, Commercial Paper, Bank Stocks and Municipal Bonds.
REFERENCES: National Bank of Kansas City; First Nat. Bank of New York; First Nat. Bank of Chicago; Maverick Nat. Bank of Boston. MERCANTILE LOAN AND TRUST CO., 501-503 Delaware St., KANSAS CITY, MO.

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to grow fruit in FLORIDA,
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to have pleasure in FLORIDA,
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Send 2c. stamp for particulars and copy of monthly "Florida Homeseeker," to O. M. CROSBY, 99 Franklin St., N. Y.

Mention THE FORUM in your letter when you write.

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We have over one hundred Massachusetts Stockholders to whom we can refer. Liberal commission to reliable Agents to represent us. Address

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Together holding average deposits of eight millions of dollars, which puts Helena financially on a level with cities like Rochester, N. Y., Indianapolis, Ind., Grand Rapids, Mich., and Columbus, Ohio, all classed as among the wealthiest and most prosperous in the Eastern States, with populations ranging above one hundred thousand each.

The combined wealth of the citizens of Helena in mines, real estate, cattle and other property is largely above one hundred millions of dollars, and is the result of but a few years' effort in the development of resources, marking Montana as a State more bountifully endowed by nature than any other portion of the habitable globe.

THE STATE OF MONTANA with less than two hundred thousand people produces annually in gold, silver, copper and lead, cattle, horses, wool, hides, sheep, etc., exportable commodities amounting to $60,000,000, nearly equaling in value those of the State of Texas, with a population of two-and-a-quarter millions.

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First lien on Real Estate worth 50 times amount of loan. Safe as Government Bonds. Limited amount offered. Write for particulars and references near you.

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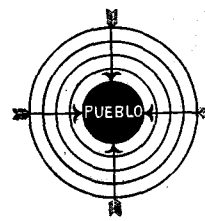

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SECURITY THE FIRST THOUGHT.
PROFIT AFTERWARDS.

The Merchants National Bank,
OF FORT WORTH, TEXAS,

as Registrars and transfer agents *offer at par*, payable 50 per cent. on application, 25 per cent. in 60 and balance in 90 days, the entire issue of $200,000 7 per cent. preferred cumulative dividend stock of the

Fort Worth Security and Construction Co.,
of FORT WORTH, TEXAS,

whose capital of $500,000 is divided into $200,000 7 per cent. preferred cumulative dividend stock; $300,000 6 per cent. common stock. The entire issue common stock having been taken by citizens of Fort Worth, at par.

HOW DIVIDENDS WILL BE PAID.

As this corporation, in addition to its other valuable, mostly inside, real estate, owns in the city of Fort Worth, Texas, the two finest commercial buildings south of St. Louis in the United States, known as the Hurley Office Building and the Martin-Brown Wholesale Dry Goods Building, for which the charge for rentals is $30,298 annually. It has been agreed by the directors to set aside $14,000 from these rentals, which can be applied only to the 7 per cent. dividend on the $200,000; and further, that such preferred stock shall first be paid in full out of the assets of said corporation upon the dissolution thereof, before the common stock shall be entitled to share in such assets. And it is further agreed that after the preferred stock has been paid its 7 per cent dividend that from net earnings the common stock is to receive 6 per cent. and from the balance of profits a dividend be paid on each the preferred and common of 3 per cent. thus making the preferred a 10 per cent. and the common a 9 per cent. stock. All earnings above sufficient to pay the above dividends, which will amount to $47,000 per annum, is to be carried to surplus account for a period of five years, and at the expiration of that time the directors may divide it among the stockholders of record as they may deem proper.

It is expected that from the increased capital of $200,000 now offered, the corporation can earn from $150,000 to $200,000 per annum, as it will place the company in a position to handle all business offered to a minimum of from $1,000,000 to $1,500,000 worth of construction annually.

OBJECTS OF THE COMPANY.

The Fort Worth Security and Construction Company, of Fort Worth, Texas, is duly incorporated under the laws of the State of Texas for the purpose of the erection of buildings and the accumulation and loan of funds for the purchase of real property in cities, towns and villages, and also for the accumulation and loan of money.

HISTORY OF THE COMPANY.

The Fort Worth Security and Construction Company, of Fort Worth, Texas, is an outgrowth of and succeeded the Fort Worth Loan and Construction Company, December 31st, 1890, which was the most successful corporation of its kind in the Southwest, having, on a capital of $100,000, earned $225,000 net inside of two years. It organized with $100,000 capital in February, in 1889, increasing same from earnings alone to $200,000 in April, 1890, and in December, 1890, shows additional surplus on conservative valuations of $125,000. It is to push this business to greater proportions that this $200,000 preferred stock is now offered.

The phenomenal net earnings of this corporation shows why conservative investors demanding assured dividends are turning from

RAILWAY TO INDUSTRIAL SECURITIES.

Its capital invested mostly in inside improved property, which is constantly increasing in value, forms a permanent security for its fidelity, and for controlling the sale of the best securities in the State. As its officers are among its largest stockholders its affairs will receive their undivided attention. It is not often that an investment, bearing such a high rate of dividend, coupled with absolute safety is offered to the public.

ITS GENERAL BUSINESS.

In addition to its construction department it transacts a general financial business. It deals in Texas securities for investors trust, fund and institutions; furnishes information and makes expert reports on the property of individuals, railway or other corporations, and pays taxes for non-residents.

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Titles to Texas real estate and mortgages thoroughly examined and insured, the charge of which will be made known before work is begun.

The option is reserved to subscribers to pay in full on application, or on the date of any instalment.

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For further particulars address the MERCHANTS NATIONAL BANK or THE FORT WORTH SECURITY AND CONSTRUCTION CO., Fort Worth, Texas.

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Reference: American National Bank.

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Improvements are going forward because the location is UNSURPASSED for health, beauty, and business

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No new town in the United States has made as much progress, with so little excitement and "booming."

PERPETUAL BANISHMENT OF SALOONS

is part of the consideration of every deed, and gambling dens and brothels are included under the same ban. This brings the best and purest population ever gathered in a new town and has proved such a good business policy that

INVESTMENTS

have been and are most profitable.

The attention of persons having a few hundreds or many thousands to invest is invited to the stock of this company, as a safe, reliable, and profitable investment, that will pay large returns.

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Northern people buy lots and build winter homes in Demorest. Southern people buy lots and build summer homes in Demorest. Many from both sections buy and build for all-the-year-round residence.

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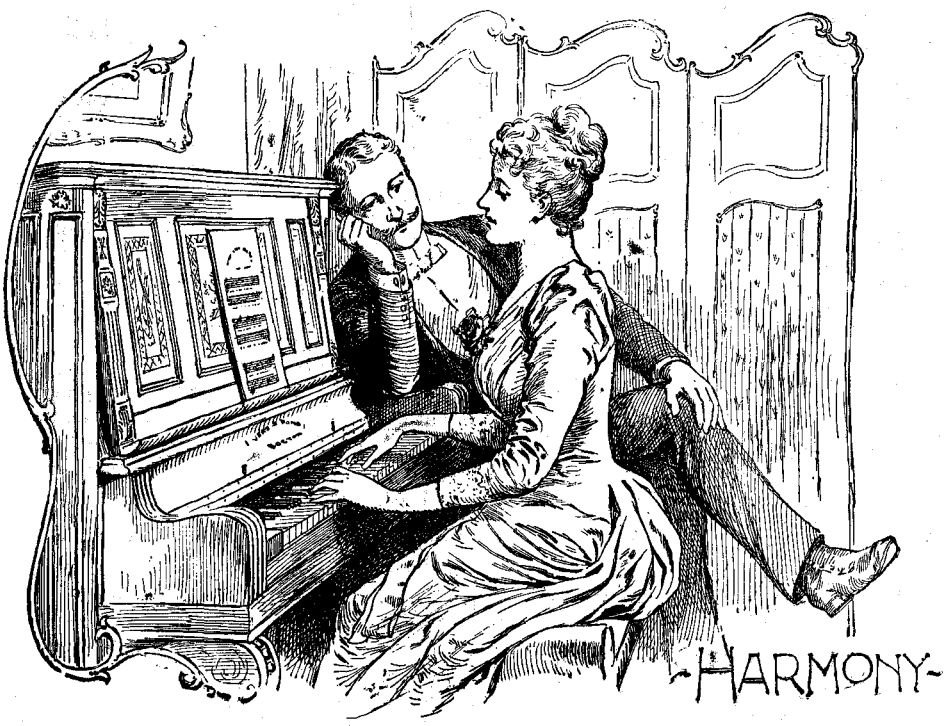

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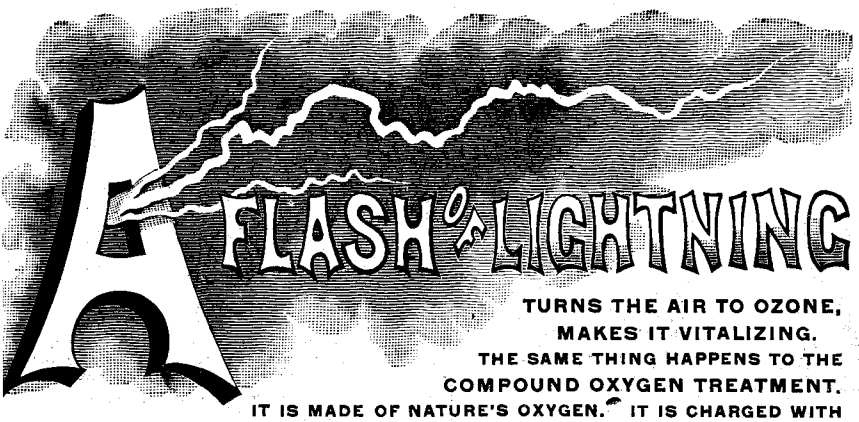

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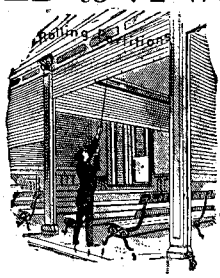

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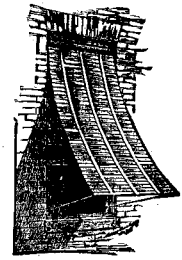

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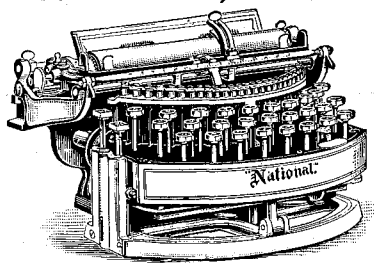

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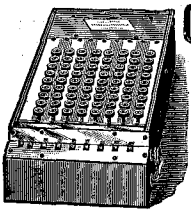

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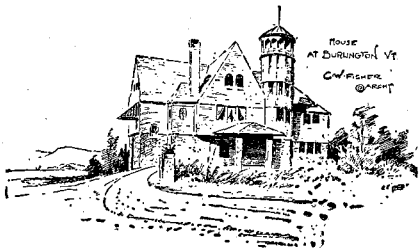

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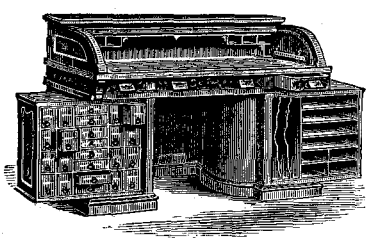

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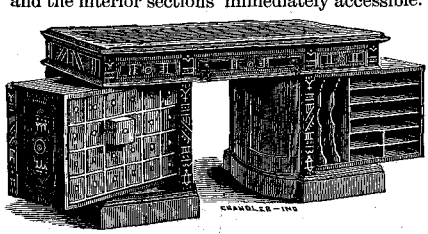

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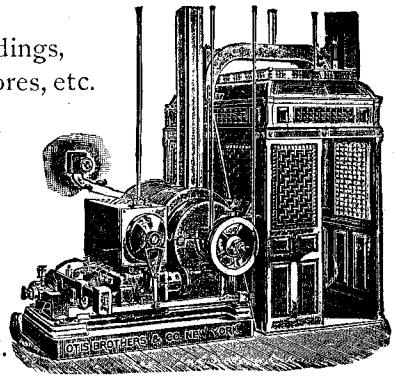

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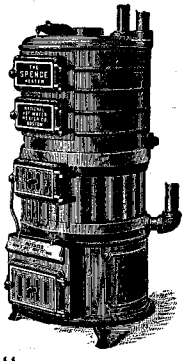

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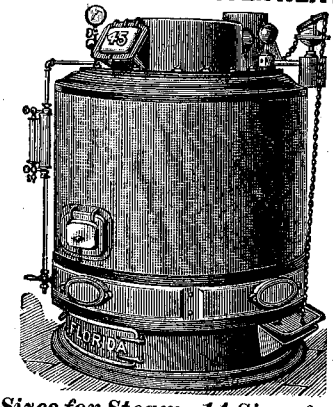

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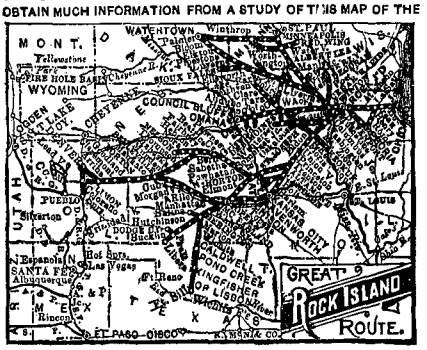

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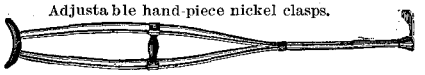

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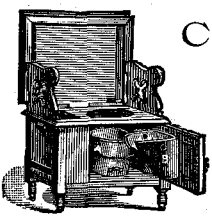

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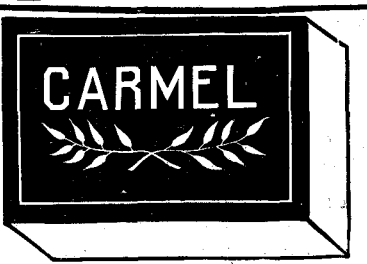

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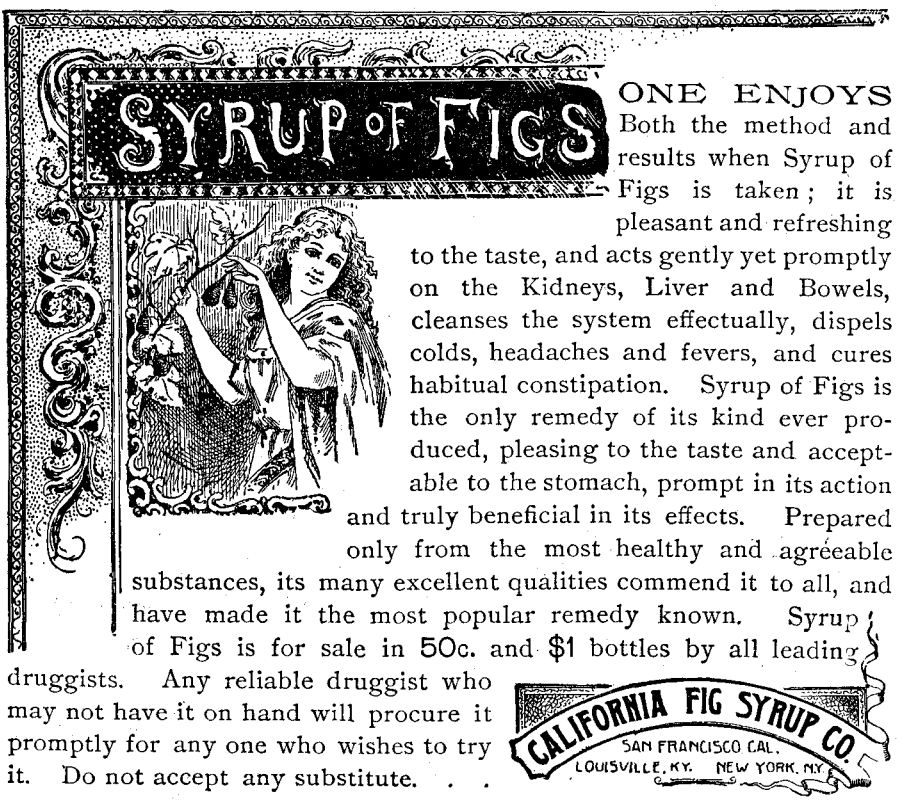
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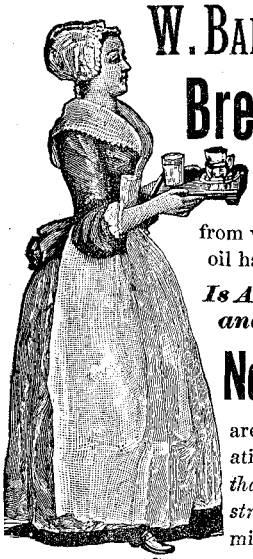

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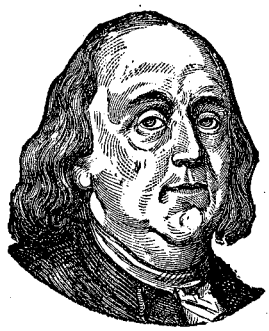

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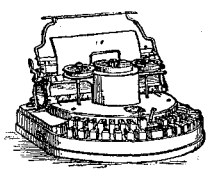

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